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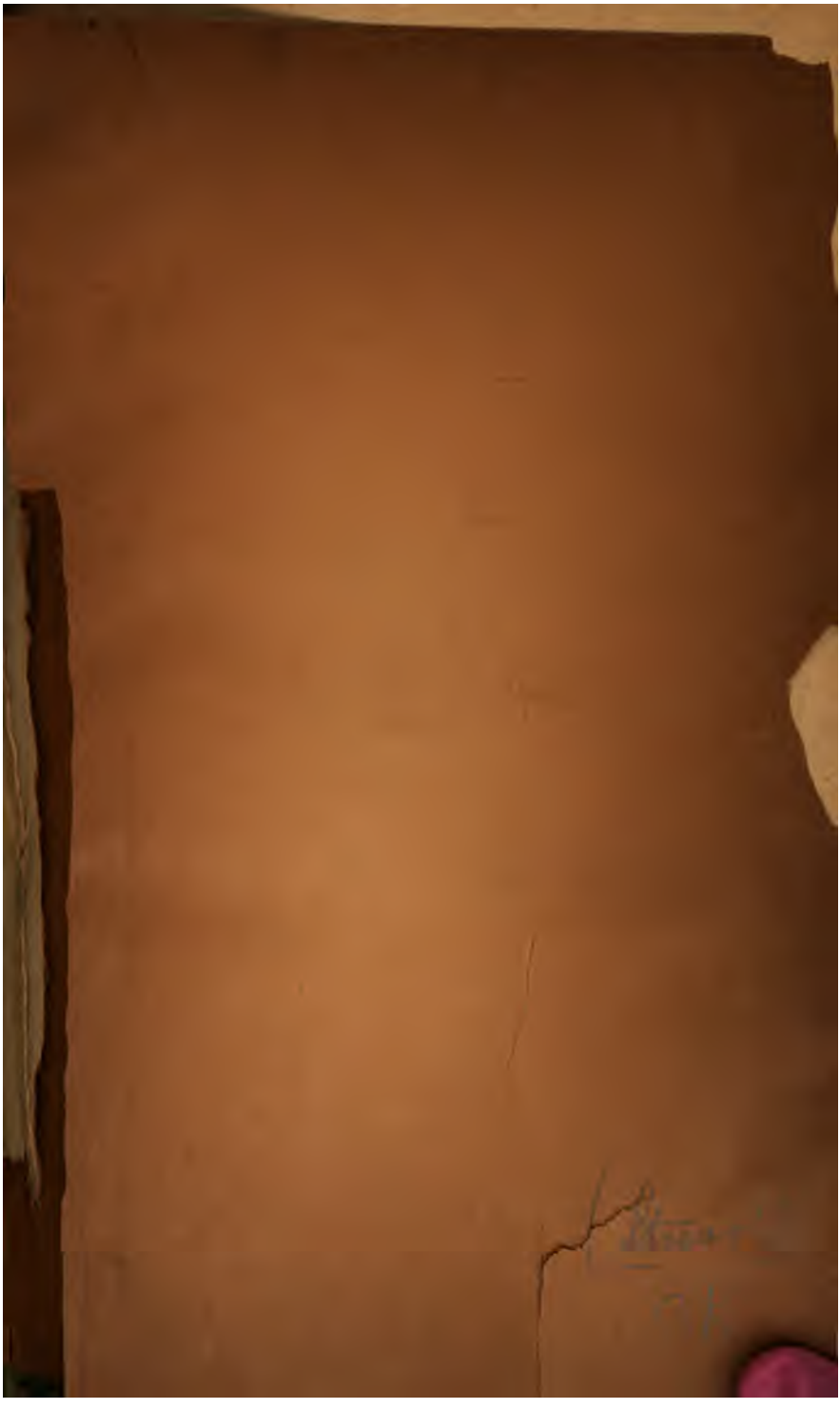

THOUGHTS

ON THE

STATE OF THE COUNTRY,

&c. &c.

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THOUGHTS

ON THE

STATE OF THE COUNTRY,

THE LATE

NEGOTIATIONS FOR A NEW MINISTRY,

AND THE

DISPOSITION OF PARTIES,

at

THE CLOSE OF THE LAST SESSION

of

PARLIAMENT,

JULY 29, 1812;

including

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

Prince Regent's Government.

BY AN ELECTOR.

[Peter Stuart]

LONDON,

PRINTED FOR J. HATCHARD, NO. 190, PICCADILLY,
AND J. RICHARDSON, CORNHILL; AND SOLD
BY ALL THE OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

1812.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.
1898.

Stuart, Printer, No. 47, Holywell-Street,
Strand, London.

THOUGHTS

ON

THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY,

&c. &c.

ASSUMING the freedom of an Elector, it is hoped that I will not be charged with any want of plain dealing and honest meaning, when I respectfully offer some Animadversions on the Public Conduct of the Members of the British Senate during their deliberations of the last Session of Parliament. The confined limits of a Pamphlet prevent minute details: But while brevity is aimed at in describing the prominent features of an important parliamentary æra, great care must be taken not to render things obscure. These Animadversions are the production of a mind anxious for the honour and glory of Great Britain and Ireland. The Representatives of the People have now had their full scope for a display of their abilities in the service of the Public. The pen

of an Elector, to whose constituent supremacy some of them are soon likely to return, may perhaps experience a kind indulgence when exercised in the same laudable pursuit.

London, August 8, 1812.

It is proposed to divide these Animadversions into three heads, viz.

1—The STATE of the COUNTRY;

2—The late NEGOTIATIONS for a NEW MINISTRY; and

3—The DISPOSITION of PARTIES.

To contemplate with cool indifference the Present State of Public Affairs would argue a criminal apathy. No good man can revolve the subject seriously in his mind without sentiments of considerable alarm. At home we have lately had disturbances which menaced the overthrow of our Government; abroad we have to contend with an able, an indefatigable, and an implacable enemy. His views seem unbounded. In his insatiable ambition, the enormous power which he has already attained appears only to increase his thirst and cravings for more. Struggling to lay the foundations of a towering, if not a durable greatness, he despises all ordinary modes of action. Having previously shaped his course in the cabinet, he pursues it in the field with every moral and physical means the most likely to command success. He advances to his grand and ultimate object with a determination

not to be appalled, with a choice of position or a dexterity of manœuvre hitherto almost invincible. ENGLAND ALONE, by her national valour, by her hardihood of enterprise, by A MANLY DISBELIEF OF THE INVINCIBILITY of that very enemy, has deeply wounded his pride, and checked his career. As ENGLAND is the grand source or centre from which flow the means of rendering more effectual this inestimable service to the interests of mankind, the first consideration which naturally presents itself, before any farther reference to our external relations, is

THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

The commotions in the Northern Counties, which in some instances have assumed the appearance of actual rebellion, are variously accounted for. Some are of opinion, that the whole discontents and disaffections arise from the non-employment of thousands, in consequence of the stagnation of trade; others attribute them to the scarcity of provisions and money; while another set of men, arrogating to themselves a sounder judgment and a keener penetration, maintain, that Bonaparte and his Ministers are the aiders and abettors of this conspiracy, as they are pleased to term it. The two first causes assigned may with great propriety be reduced into one; for as a stagnation of trade will naturally, for some time at least, render to mechanics and the poorer classes of society, the means of obtaining the

necessaries of life more difficult, the scarcity of provisions is eagerly advanced as an argument in support of these disturbances. The Orders of Council, however, having been rescinded, and the poorer classes recalled to resume their labours in the various manufactures in which they have usually been employed, the supposed cause of these serious discontents has in some degree been removed. The industrious work man will easily be restored to all his former advantages; and what was lately called scarcity will be justly attributed to a temporary embarassment, arising from the unavoidable pressure of the times. This happy change has already been experienced in the town of Nottingham, the Mother of the Riots.

But we have no doubt that some of the insurgents having involved themselves, as they must now understand, in acts of sedition and treason, robbery and murder, conclude that they have forfeited that protection and those rights and privileges which they enjoyed in common with their fellow-subjects. Tremblingly alive to the just punishment of their indiscretions or crimes, they may continue for some short time to thwart the measures of Government. Such puny efforts, however, will soon be overwhelmed by the arm of power. The unfortunate men who have already attoned for their crimes, ought to have served as a certain but melancholy lesson of the ultimate effects of perseverance against the laws

and institutions of the country. A Government that cannot maintain its authority is not entitled to the support of the people. Our present Government has proved, notwithstanding many untoward circumstances, so far at least as regards efforts for the suppression of the disturbances, that it well deserves the confidence of the nation. The unexpected and diabolical assassination of Mr. Perceval—the political confusion resulting from such an event—the suspension, in some degree, of the functions of Government—all contributed to produce that dilemma and alarm which seemed prejudicial to the state of public affairs. But as soon as Lord LIVERPOOL'S ADMINISTRATION was confirmed by the PRINCE REGENT, Ministers entered upon their official duties with a zeal, a vigilance, and an activity, by which they obtained the approbation not only of Parliament, but of the country at large.

Although the Bill lately passed may ultimately operate the re-establishment of peace and order, yet a PROCLAMATION for a GENERAL AMNESTY or PARDON—with the exception of a few of the most criminal leaders—would be the means of producing much sooner the happy and desirable effect. Numbers of infatuated and misguided men, whose offences may as yet be ranked among petty misdemeanours, would immediately embrace the liberal offers held out in the ROYAL PROCLAMATION, and very gladly return to peace and social order. A merciful

measure of this kind would be highly honourable to Government, afford the greatest pleasure and satisfaction to the Public, and be more effectual and more speedy in putting down the disturbances, than any act of Parliament kept alive merely by the spirit of coërcion. It would, besides, give a laudable degree of popularity to Ministers, by shewing that they prefer the cultivation of internal peace by acts of humanity, rather than enforce their authority by " a vigour beyond the law."

No delusion is greater than the belief that the destruction of machinery will increase the quantity of provisions, or render bread cheap. To inflame the minds of the people, so as to produce a conflict of passions hostile to their employers or superiors, is at all times dangerous to the State. A constitution such as we possess, when seriously threatened by the spirit of revolt, demands every effort for its defence. It has been suggested, that the late disturbers of public tranquillity were guided and bottomed in their proceedings by political advisers of acknowledged reputation. No idea, however, seems more fallacious. Nay, some Gentlemen have even gone farther: Their apprehensions and fears have induced them to insinuate, that if they were not aided and abetted by the enemies of Government at home, they must certainly derive their encouragement to rebellion from our enemies abroad. Their petty

contributions of twopence a week towards a fund, is a strong and an incontrovertible proof that they had NO POLITICAL CONNECTION OF ANY RESPECTABILITY; not that it is meant by these assertions to maintain, that many of our enemies both at home and abroad would not have rejoiced at the success of the rioters. All political antipathies to Government are secretly indulged by the opposite party at the commencement of any serious riots or commotions; and therefore, although they dare not openly avow themselves for the cause of the malcontents, yet they heartily wish them *just as much* success as will paralise Government, or eject their rivals from power. The Opposition never can wish revolters against lawful authority any greater success, because a total overthrow of Government would destroy all their hopes and wishes. With regard to a branch of the present Opposition known by the name of the *Burdettites*, nothing has yet transpired which can in any manner implicate even their conduct. But the tear of sympathy shed in Parliament, the bitter invectives against Ministers, the wit and ridicule needlessly wasted in attempting to divert Administration from their duty by the suppression of the riots, are too fresh in the memories of the most inattentive observers to require particular notice in this publication. The whole phalanx of Opposition have used their utmost endeavours to mitigate those outrages which have lately con-

vulsed the disturbed districts, and frightened part of the nation from its propriety. The leaders have shewn a fellow-feeling for the rioters; and Messrs. Whitbread and Burdett, by their fulminations in Parliament, have rivalled each other on this memorable occasion. It has even been shrewdly surmised, that had not those rioters been greatly encouraged by their advocates in the House of Commons, they would have sooner yielded to the operations of reason and lawful authority.

The disgraceful extremes to which the present disturbances have arrived, seem, according to other opinions, not to have originated in any steady or preconcerted plan. It is true that history, notwithstanding important changes of men and manners, frequently presents similar effects from similar causes; and that great and alarming enormities have often arisen from causes originally of little or no interest. The outrages in the Northern Counties had not at their commencement that grave and serious aspect which might have served to indicate mischievous consequences. The first acts of violence of a few frame-breakers promised neither extent of duration nor excess of crime. Moderate men, remote from these commotions, believed, that a reconciliation would of course soon be effected; that the rioters, fearful of their continued resistance to the laws of the land, would gladly return to the paths of peace; and that there would

be no occasion for any extra aid to the civil power. But the disturbances in their progress unhappily assumed a character which at first they did not bear. It was a *military* character, and of a hostile and a formidable description to a regular government. On this part of the subject Lord Castlereagh gave a very clear statement of facts. Certain persons having united, in the first instance, without any intention of carrying their proceedings to the lengths to which they had been conducted, had, from making war on their masters and machinery, felt their own power. Resolved to use what they had obtained so unexpectedly, they at last put themselves in a military array of so serious a nature, so malignant and so marked by conduct and deliberation, that Government, as his Lordship very properly remarked, would have been culpable any longer to forbear calling the attention of Parliament to a subject of such vast importance. The insurgents assembled sometimes in the day sometimes in the night time, with blackened faces, and armed with various weapons. Although the destruction of machinery alone was their original motive of action, yet in the expansion of the disturbances another object seems to have arisen, by far the most formidable to the public tranquillity. "It appeared (says the Report of the Committee) that large bodies of men traversed the disturbed districts, looking for fire-arms; and it was now material to say,

that all the arms in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield had been obtained by them. They appeared also, (continues the Report) not to have been actuated by any sudden impulse, but the whole of their proceedings bore the features of an organized system, and a regular result from established causes!"

But the Gentlemen of Opposition, to their praise be it said, act with great uniformity of resistance to the measures of Government, and therefore treat the whole contents of this very interesting Report as a thing totally unworthy of serious consideration. Pretending that it is a detail of circumstances common to every tumult or riot, they affect to ridicule its displayed importance and swelled magnitude — looking upon it as the Minister's production, although sanctioned by the Committee. Mr. Whitbread has sneered the subject-matter into contemptible insignificance; and all the Opposition Wits—by a brisk fire from their Squib and Cracker Batteries—have endeavoured to reduce both it and its Ministerial Authors to a perfect Cinder!

Impartial men will readily admit, that had not the diabolical genius of successful riot soon stretched its pestiferous steps to the very verge of rebellion—had no robberies and murders been openly and daringly committed—had there been no audacious violation of those laws which bind man and man together in links or bonds which serve for mutual protection — the aid

of Parliament might have been deemed inexpedient, and Mr. Whitbread might have stood on fair and high ground, when he described the disturbances as too contemptible and insignificant to require the overawing controul of a new Act of Parliament. Lord Castlereagh, however, brought forward, among a variety of other instances, one stubborn fact, which alone was sufficient to put an host of Mr. Whitbread's vague suppositions and idle declamations completely to the route:—Early in the progress of the disturbances, a very large military force was sent down to quell them. It was so great, that it had been thought sufficient at least to protect the inhabitants from any dangerous consequences. Those, however, who had formed such an opinion very soon found themselves in a serious error. The proceedings which had taken place on the part of the rioters were at last of such a nature and description, that "the whole Army of the British Empire (according to the Newspaper Reports, says his Lordship) could not afford protection and safety to the King's faithful subjects in the disturbed districts, *as the law at present stood!*" Tumultuary meetings had ensued, not merely at night but in the day time. About seven hundred persons had assembled on Sunday during divine service, between one and two o'clock, for the avowed purpose of training themselves to the use of arms. The Magistrates interposed; the

Riot Act was read; but as the insurgents could not be dispersed till the lapse of an hour, they had of course sufficient time to accomplish all the purposes of their meeting, as they did not then assemble with an intention to commit acts of violence. His Lordship, therefore, judiciously proposed, that the Magistrates, in such cases, should have the power to disperse a tumultuous body, and make any of those who did not disperse liable to punishment, whether the excesses were by night or by day. The Magistrates were also to be empowered not only to arrest any such offenders, but also to hold them to bail at the Quarter Sessions for a misdemeanour; and to these additional powers are likewise superadded a concurrent jurisdiction with the other Magistrates of the disturbed counties.—From these pointed and interesting particulars, no man who is free from the prejudice and passion of party, will attempt for a moment to refuse his assent to that necessary invigoration of the arm of the Magistrate, which may ensure protection not only to the peaceable inhabitants, but also promise a speedy extinguishment of that spirit of revolt and disorder which menaces greater convulsions and more alarming mischiefs.

By the diabolical administration of unlawful oaths, such a system of terror had been established as put all Magistrates and their authorities at defiance. From the invincible effects

of the unlawful oaths, the arm of the Magistrate was not only checked and suspended, but rendered impotent and useless when directed according to the usual sources of intelligence. That system of terror—the threats of assassination and burning of houses—the fear of falling victims to the revenge of the infuriated insurgents at some future period—had operated most powerfully on the minds of many of the peaceable inhabitants, and prevented them from affording to the Magistrate that aid which he naturally expected. If the latter experienced such vexations and disappointments in the discharge of his duty among the former as to find all channels of communication choaked up, or the informant's tongue stifled, the unlawful oaths which had been taken by the insurgents served but to heighten his official embarrassments. Thus deprived of his common sources, he could not obtain information upon oath against any individual concerned in the disturbances; and was at once *deprived of the means of executing the laws as they now stand.* What were Ministers therefore to do? To hesitate any longer on an application to Parliament, would be to leave the peaceable inhabitants of the disturbed districts totally at the mercy of the rioters. Had they suffered the smallest delay at such a moment of urgency and danger, they would have deserved an immediate impeachment for betraying the trust reposed in them by the public. Although

Ministers have not evinced any disposition to outrun the necessity of the case, yet they have not blinked the question; they have met it fairly and manfully in all its bearings; and, in this instance at least, their conduct has been so irreproachable, that men of wisdom and discretion, from a due consideration of all concurring circumstances, make no scruple to declare, that they would have been better pleased had Government by the additional laws been entrusted with larger powers. This proves at least to penetrating men, jealous of their liberties when actually endangered, that the new Act appears not stretched beyond that extreme necessity which the convulsed state of the disturbed counties so imperiously demands.

It is fortunate for society, that the few efforts of rioters against Government since our Revolution have been projected and guided by men weak both in courage and capacity, or bedizzened and confounded with the sudden and unexpected attainment of an authority paramount to the law of the land. It would be needless to enter into a minute detail of the few attempts worthy of notice. The riots of 1780, being the most recent, may serve to confirm the truth of the assertion. Lord George Gordon, the leader of that mob, had no idea when he originally assembled the multitude, that their proceedings would ever arrive at such an extraordinary degree of public influence and authority.

The abominable and wicked outrages which instantly burst forth seemed in appearance as if all Hell were let loose to form a conspiracy—a Grand Coalition—a Death-Dance—with the Human Furies already in action against the Altar, against the Throne, against, in short, all wise Institutions and Civil Order. At that critical moment, Lord George Gordon, although otherwise a brave man, betrayed his apprehensions and fears. Paralised and confounded by his sudden and unexpected elevation and authority, he became so giddy, so intoxicated, with his wonderful influence over the multitudinous rabble, that, unable to bear it, he sunk under the immense weight of his own power. The functions of Government had time to recover from the memorable paroxism; and the wisdom and vigilance of those entrusted with the direction of public affairs have ever since prevented the metropolis from becoming the sacrifice of a lawless mob.

It is much more easy to raise than to extinguish the fury of a popular ferment. It may be presumed, that, like George Gordon, those who in the present instance were originally instrumental in wickedly spreading the flame of discord, in exciting and fomenting the tumults of the Northern Counties, had no idea, that, at the commencement of their savage operations, they were rapidly precipitating themselves to the very verge of treason. They entertained no apprehensions

that what they thought a fair beginning would entail upon its supporters so foul an end. In the necessary progress of human affairs, a great and unlooked-for success of operation stimulates to greater enterprises. The present insurgents were astonished and amazed at the influence which they had achieved within the circle of their presumed power. From frame-breaking they began to aim at some system which in the madness of their ambition—for even frame-breakers have ambition—they fondly hoped would tend to more solid advantages. Like mariners desperate on the ocean, they attempted, after losing their compass and reckoning, to persevere in their voyage. They knew not what course to take; but as in extreme cases the boldest are generally the quickest and the most ingenious in expedients, they resolved to amend their fortunes by turning Political Buccaneers. To drop the figure, it may on every rational principle be truly affirmed, that the insurgents themselves were totally confounded at their easy attainment of such wide-extending influence. Scorning, however, to imitate the pusillanimity, but perhaps prudence, of *Richard Cromwell*, the son of the Usurper—(who, on the death of his regicide father, refused to avail himself of his crimes, relinquished all claims to regal authority, and was contented to relapse into retirement and obscurity)—the rioters resolved to attempt such arrangements as might promise their

usurpations some degree of useful duration. Hence arose at once some semblance of organized functionaries; and those short-lived dictators, the dupes of their own wicked imaginations, soon appeared lost in the clouds, before it was ascertained that they had reached the summit of that very dunghill from whose vile base they had reptile-like endeavoured to ascend. For those scenes of tumult and clamour, for those audacious and troublesome movements, for that perfidious and treasonable use of firearms, which have bid defiance to all lawful authority, the local Magistrates have hitherto not been to blame. Hearts susceptible of humanity are the characteristic qualities of Englishmen; and if, in the exercise of their powers, the Magistrates at first countenanced that kind of lenity which seemed to them compatible with the quiet of society, the gratification of benevolence, the dignity and safety of the State, they deserve praise, not censure. They very properly conceived, that the continuance of such a contest would be extremely precarious to the daring insurgents; and that any portion of success, however small, would ultimately bring down upon their guilty heads inevitable ruin.

But when reflecting on the nature of these disturbances, and the apparent policy of the actors in the violent outrages, some kind of plan or system seems soon to have been in their

view, although the commencement of their movements was professedly for a different object. Their eager search for fire-arms—their ransacking them from every house and every quarter of their search—their frequent preference of fire-arms to monies—their establishing a regular muster-roll—their initiation of training in military order—indeed all their various evolutions and manœuvres, indicate some plan or system as yet not fully matured. When, however, these commotions were not only attended with the destruction of machinery and houses, but even with robberies and murders, it was certainly time for Government to adopt some strong measure. If there be any blame attributable to the servants of the Crown, it cannot be on account of too hasty a conduct in the suppression of the disturbances: Government may be censured for having been too slow and too lenient on the occasion; they may be charged with a culpable negligence; but they cannot be reproached for a criminal precipitancy. They have erred, therefore, on the safe side; and this truth cannot be denied even by those who spoke in Parliament in mitigation of the crimes of the rioters. Messrs. Whitbread and Burdett, who, in sympathy and sorrow, drew affecting pictures of human frailties, and who consequently, in alluding to the riots or commotions, thus far befriended those who had raised their hands against the State, will not surely refuse to Government their ho-

nourable tribute of praise for great lenity in the exercise of their power. There may, indeed, exist, certain evil-disposed persons, who, not contented with the excesses which have already been committed, may lament that the spirit of discontent and hostility had not reached the acmé of open rebellion, when there would be some chance of a *revolution*, some chance of a *radical* reform. But those who know the honourable Baronet's associates, those who recollect his intimacy with *Despard*—those who have heard and witnessed his conduct in times of popular tumult and danger—cannot for a moment believe that these insinuations have the smallest reference to his pure and unstained politics. Be the truth of these observations, however, as it may, the country at large may derive from the Report of the Committee this particular consolation, that NO CONNECTION had been formed between the Insurgents and any PERSONS of AUTHORITY either within or without these realms. What plans or connections might have been in contemplation on the prospect of success, cannot at this time be easily developed or defined. It is sufficient to know, and to know from indisputable authority, that NO SUCH CONNECTION CAN BE TRACED. But Ministers, the authorised Guardians of the Public, will not, it is hoped, relax from their laudable vigilance; and the more easily they can put down all those concerned in such disgraceful and dangerous

proceedings the more will they be entitled to the thanks of all friends to social order. If the PROCLAMATION for an AMNESTY—with the few exceptions requisite—were adopted, all ranks would rejoice to learn, that the misled rioters, with hearts overflowing with gratitude, had gladly come in to accept the ROYAL PARDON. It is presumed that it might now be offered with every degree of public safety. But when the State is in real danger, timid clemency would be a criminal violation of public trust. If real danger do not produce serious apprehensions, it ought at least to produce every effort of the most jealous circumspection. Let us rest assured, that the result of good intentions only, in the management of State Affairs, will ninety-nine times out of a hundred end in the bitter effects of a feeble and short-sighted policy.

Mr. Wilberforce, whose independence, honour, and patriotism, no man can with any degree of propriety challenge, has drawn an alarming and melancholy picture not only of Yorkshire, which he represents, but of all the other disturbed counties. The authority of this gentlemen ought to carry considerable weight, especially so far as regards the county to which he more immediately belongs. In answer to Mr. Whitbread, who, in discussing the merits of the new bill, had treated the whole with much levity and ridicule, affirming that none of the

disturbances were superior to the powers of the Magistrates when actively and properly directed, Mr. Wilberforce was sorry, to remark, that

"His Honourable Friend (Mr. Whitbread) seemed to consider the increase of those disturbances to be owing principally to the supineness of the Magistracy in those districts. When we sat (says Mr. Wilberforce) at our ease in this House, talking of disturbances which we did not see, and dangers which we did not share, it was natural rather to under-rate them—

'They laugh at scars who never felt a wound!'

Those, however, who resided in those districts, naturally saw and felt the evils in a stronger light, and could not be fairly charged with unfounded fear, or with supineness. It had been most distinctly stated by the Magistrates, as the Noble Lord (Castlereagh) had already noticed, that from the system which was pursued, *they could not obtain information upon oath against any individual concerned in those transactions; and that therefore they had no means of executing the laws as they now stand!*"

This is a complete confirmation of Lord Castlereagh's assertion, which is corroborated also by the Report of the Committee.—Can any circumstances be more distressing or alarming than such a state of the country? Was there, in such perturbed scenes, any certain protection to the peaceable inhabitants? No. From whom then were they to solicit aid? From Parliament, that constitutional bulwark which is always able and willing, in such pressing emergencies, to give the desired aid; to that Parliament who, by the immediate dispensation of its additional powers, will prove themselves the faithful representatives of the people; to that Parliament whose duty it is, by the immediate application

of some effectual remedy, to prevent the spirit of insurrection from spreading the fury of its flames.

After farther depicting the calamitous state of the disturbed counties—after referring to the late unhappy rebellion in Ireland, to which, from the best information, he was sorry to say, the present insurrections bore not only the strictest similarity, but that the insurgents seem prepared to run the same career—after pathetically describing the dreadful progress and revulsive horrors of civil war, when family was armed against family, and village against village—Mr. Wilberforce declared it to be his confirmed opinion, that "*these disturbances had not been produced entirely by commercial and manufacturing distress!*" To what other cause, it may be asked, were they to be attributed? Listen, gentle reader, to what Mr. Wilberforce, Member for the County of York, one of the most convulsed of the disturbed counties, attributes the chief cause of the unhappy disturbances:—

"He felt properly convinced (continued Mr. Wilberforce in answer to Mr. Whitbread) that it was from POLITICAL CAUSES, and not merely from commercial distress, or the high price of provisions, THAT THESE EVILS ORIGINATED. If he could believe they arose from temporary causes, he should think them much less serious. Undoubtedly the circumstances of the times, the high price of provisions, and the want of employment, aggravated those evils considerably. Circumstances of this kind were the rank soil and climate the most congenial to their growth;—but it was to POLITICAL CAUSES THEY OWED THEIR ORIGIN! It was by MISCHIEVOUS PUBLICATIONS, *industriously disseminated among them*, that

they became alienated from the Government under which they lived! It was by these means that their minds were turned from the habits of peaceful industry, and that they became mischiefs to the state, and miserable to themselves!!!"

This is a most serious and alarming assertion—if founded in truth. But the Author of these Animadversions hopes and trusts, that Mr. Wilberforce, in the warmth of debate, in the hurry of expressing his just detestation of the proceedings of the insurgents, has inadvertently suffered himself to be carried beyond the limits of well-founded allegation. Publications of the malignant nature thus described could not be circulated without some name or authority. It was therefore the duty of the Magistrate, on the first appearance of such publications, to take the necessary steps to counteract their poisonous effects. The laws point out the various modes of detecting, suppressing, and even punishing—if requisite—any one for the circulation of libels against the peace of society, or the safety of the State. The rigid interference of such powers, it is presumed, Mr. Wilberforce himself would very seldom recommend. The wisest and best of men have not hesitated to declare, that it was much better to bear in some degree the partial abuse or partial evils of the Press, than to stifle or destroy the general effects of so great a blessing This was the avowed opinion of some of the most enlightened men who have ever lived; and therefore, although it has lately, perhaps,

been too much the custom or fashion to prosecute —and even to persecute—for such things as have been termed libels—it is certainly a custom or fashion much more commendable in the breach than the observance. It is by no means insinuated, that gross and scandalous libels ought not to be punished; such libels as tend to unhinge and destroy the links or bonds of society; such libels as disturb the public peace, and inflame the passions of the people against the lawful authorities; such libels, in short, as by encouraging plans of uproar and confusion, by the debasement of the higher ranks and the elevation of the lower orders, by an active resistance to the measures of Government, with open declarations in favour of its total and speedy subversion—such libels as these demand the pains and penalties of the law:——And if the contents of the political publications alluded to by Mr Wilberforce bear such a colouring, or warrant such a description, the Magistrates of the disturbed districts, by suffering the dissemination of such infectious and dangerous libels, deserve the severest reprehension.

But it is shrewdly suspected that the POLITICAL PUBLICATIONS in the worthy Member's eye are the PARTY NEWSPAPERS; those well-known vehicles of prejudice and discontent those active instruments and trumpeters of sedition, or treason, or both; those Country Members, or Country Delegates, from the Party to the

People; those projectors, inventors, and directors, of new-fangled operative principles in politics and religion—by which men are to become better by first being worse, by which the overthrow of the Constitution, and the destruction of the Government, are proved to be the salvation of both! By this new mode of reasoning mere cyphers may be demonstrated far more useful than units, although the former cannot stand in an arithmetical sentence without the latter. By this new mode of reasoning, shadows become substances—the cyphers being placed in the front, and the units following in the rear—the violation of order becomes the representative or outline of the disorder and confusion into which the Frenchified Government of the insurgents would precipitate the human race.

And why was Mr. Wilberforce so delicate on the occasion? Why did he mince the matter? Why did he not speak out? Why were we not at once presented with the offence and the offenders, as the Honourable Gentleman seemed to indicate that he fully knew both? This delicacy of conduct, this shyness of particulars, this coquetry of charge and countercharge, arose, perhaps, from a kind and placable disposition to his Brother-Member for the County of York! The Noble Family have vehicles of all descriptions in their suit; vehicles of all descriptions honoured with their illustrious names;

and why not *Newspapers* as well as Stage Coaches, Dung Carts, or Coal Barges? But the Noble Lord is not singular in his taste or ambition. Several Members of Opposition, distinguished for their rank and fortune, have also their agnomens and their cognomens described by vehicles of their respective counties. And why not have the *Titles of Newspapers* adorned also with their precious names? But all the Chiefs take a particular interest in certain Newspapers of their respective counties; and whether allowed to use their names or authorities, the influence of such Prints is reckoned by the Party, far greater—in their particular circle or district—than the influence of a dozen or twenty Members in the House of Commons—with the exception of the numbers on a division, and with the exception of those who sometimes waste their lungs and exhaust their brains by making speeches in support of the Modern Whigs. The PARTY NEWSPAPERS are plants of a new growth *in the country!* They are carefully cultivated, and thrive tolerably, whether viewed in the fermented soil of Democracy, the gentle risings of Opposition, or the cankered clay of Insurrection! These were the "POLITICAL PUBLICATIONS" to which Mr. Wilberforce alluded; these were "the MISCHIEVOUS PUBLICATIONS *industriously disseminated among the people, by which they became alienated from the Government under which they lived.*" Disseminated among the peo-

ple! Yes, forsooth, disseminated or sown among them with such industry, and in such a manner, as they very soon grew and sprung up armed men! Mr. Wilberforce, therefore, was laudably prudent in avoiding the particulars of such publications, and also laudably prudent in avoiding the exposure of names and connections. In traversing the post-roads, on the urgency of an election, the worthy Member might perhaps be necessitated to become a passenger in one of these vehicles—"*The Rockingham*," for instance—and whether in the outside or inside, in the dickey or in the basket, the Coachman, by learning that the Honourable Gentleman had been particularly adverse to the Party, by exposing their unconstitutional means, might, in the height of his spleen, overturn the vehicle, and thus endanger the valuable life of a true patriot and an honest man.

In the fever of Opposition Politics, an uniform negative to the measures of Government is an essential part of their creed. Mr. Whitbread, Sir Francis Burdett, and the whole tribe of declaimers against the New Bill for the Suppression of the Riots, have strenuously maintained, that the disturbances had not reached that height of fear and alarm so as to render the act necessary. It is to be hoped that before this time they have seen their error. The distracted state of the unhappy districts most imperiously continues to demand an immediate relief. So far the

bill is absolutely requisite. Should any of these Gentlemen, however, in opposition to stubborn facts and incontrovertible arguments, obstinately persist in maintaining the rectitude of their opinions, let them take a glance or a cursory view of the Report presented to the House of Lords from their Secret Committee. It contains a very clear and a very circumstantial detail of such shocking particulars as may serve to remove the doubts of the greatest incredulity. It is a valuable and an interesting sketch or brief history of these disgraceful transactions. For an elucidation of the subject, here follows an Abstract of that Report:—

The disturbances commenced in the town of Nottingham in November last, by the destruction of a great number of newly-invented stocking-frames, by parties of men principally stocking-weavers. Early in December, the outrages had extended into Derbyshire and Leicestershire. Other adjacent counties also were soon in a disturbed state; and Cheshire, and Lancashire, and Yorkshire, followed the shocking examples. The insurgents continued their operations, with various success, both by arming and plundering, by burning of houses and by murder, in defiance of the civil and military powers. In April and May, they committed many abominable outrages; and were active by night as by day. At Huddersfield (Yorkshire) they had destroyed many mills, and fired at and killed Mr. Horsfall, a respectable merchant and mill-owner. Two thousand pounds were offered in vain for the discovery of any of the murderers! No menaces or rewards can induce the insurgents to betray their companions. A body of armed men, amounting to between two and three hundred, attacked on the 18th of April, a valuable mill belonging to Mr. Cartwright, at Leversedge, in the neighbourhood of the Moors dividing Lancashire and Yorkshire. Mr. Cartwright, with three of his men and five soldiers, defended the mill with such courage as

to force the assailants to retire. Two were left on the spot desperately wounded, and were secured, but died of their wounds. Colonel Campbell, who commands the troops at Leeds, was shot at in the night of the 8th of May, by two men, who discharged their pieces at him within the distance of twenty yards; and immediately after a third shot was fired, directed towards the room usually occupied by Colonel Campbell and his family! At Horbury, near Wakefield, valuable mills were attacked and destroyed on the 9th of April, by an armed body supposed to consist of three hundred men. "The men who committed the outrage were seen on the road between Wakefield and Horbury *marching in regular sections*, preceded by *a mounted party with drawn swords*, and followed by the same number of men as a *rear guard!!!*" At Sheffield, the storehouse of arms of the Local Militia was surprised in the month of May; a large portion of the arms were destroyed, and many taken away!!! "In consequence of these outrages (at Wakefield), the Vice-Lieutenant of the West Riding, the Deputy-Lieutenant, and Magistrates, assembled at Wakefield on the 11th of June, and came to a Resolution, 'That the most alarming consequences were to be apprehended from the nightly depredations which were committed by bodies of armed men!' At the same time (says the Report) this remarkable circumstance was stated, that among one hundred depositions taken by the Magistrates of the facts of robberies committed, there was only one as to the perpetrator of the crime!!!" The Committee farther state, "that the views of some of the persons engaged in these proceedings have extended to *revolutionary measures of the most dangerous description!!!*" Again—"Their proceedings (says the Report) manifest a degree of caution and organization which appears to flow from the direction of some persons under whose influence they act;—but it is the opinion of a person, whose situation gives him great opportunities of information, that their Leaders, although they may possess considerable influence, are still of the *lowest orders*; men of desperate fortunes, who have taken advantage of the pressure of the moment to work upon the inferior class, through the medium of the Associations in the manufacturing parts of the country.—The general persuasion of the persons engaged in these transactions appear, however, to be, that all the Societies in the country are directed in their motions by a *Secret Committee*, and that this Secret

Committee is therefore the great mover of the whole machine; and it is established by the various informations to which the Committee has before alluded, that Societies are formed in different parts of the country; that these Societies are governed by their respective Secret Committees; that Delegates are continually dispatched from one place to another, for the purpose of concerting their plans; and that *Secret Signs* are arranged, by which the persons engaged in these conspiracies are known to each other. The form of the Oath or Engagement administered to those who are enlisted in these Societies also refers expressly to the existence of such Secret Committees."

The Oath appears to have been administered to a considerable extent. It is of itself of so atrocious a nature, that the Committee have thought it right to insert the Form, as it appears in one of those copies:—

"*I, A. B. of my own voluntary will, do declare and solemnly swear, that I never will reveal to any person or persons under the canopy of heaven, the names of the persons who compose this* SECRET COMMITTEE, *their proceedings, meeting, places of abode, dress, features, connections, or any thing else that might lead to a discovery of the same either by word or deed, or sign, under the penalty of being sent out of the world by the first brother who shall meet me, and my name and character blotted out of existence, and never to be remembered but with contempt and abhorrence: And I farther now do swear, that I will use my best endeavours to punish by death any traitor or traitors, should any rise up amongst us, wherever I can find him or them; and though he should fly to the verge of nature, I will pursue him with increasing vengeance. So help me God, and bless me to keep this oath inviolable!*"

The MILITARY ORGANIZATION carried on by persons engaged in these Societies has also, (continues our Abstract) proceeded to an alarming length; they assemble in large numbers by night upon heaths or commons, which are numerous and extensive in some of the districts where the disturbances have been most serious. So assembled,

they take the usual military precautions of Paroles and Countersigns—their Muster-Rolls are called by numbers not by names—they are directed by Leaders in disguise—they use Signals by rockets or blue lights, by which they communicate intelligence to their parties!—The money obtained by contribution or plunder answers the purpose of support; and in most parts of the disturbed districts the inhabitants are under the constant fear and controul of the insurgents, and the little peace which they enjoy arises from the accidental or temporary protection of the military force. The Committee, "look upon the part of the country where the disturbances took place as at the MERCY of the RIOTERS!!!"

The mercy of the rioters!—rioters regularly armed, and drilled, and disciplined; in every respect fitted for warfare! The mercy of rioters, who, as traitors to their country, have basely turned their arms against her dearest interests, and cruelly butchered their fellow-men! The mercy of such rioters, a lawless mob, brutalised hordes, stained and reeking with the blood of their innocent countrymen—the mercy of such savages is like the mercy of wolves or tigers, when goaded on to prey by the madness of ferocity or the desperation of hunger! To the mercy of such rioters, thus fashioned and Frenchified on *sans culote* principles, no good man can wish his bitterest enemy!

But, after all the testimonies produced, after the impressive representation of facts by the Committees of Parliament, after the confirmed truth of the statements by Gentlemen of the most unquestionable respectability belonging to the disturbed counties, all these insurrections,

according to Messrs. Whitbread and Burdett, are mere peccadilloes, too insignificant in their progress and too trifling in their effects!!! It were to be wished, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Whitbread would condescend to take another view of the picture. Suppose alarming and formidable riots or insurrections in London, such as happened in the year 1780, putting the civil and military powers at compleat defiance—and suppose the cause of these terrible riots, instead of numerous machineries and the high price of provisions, to be the *high price* of *porter*, the mob resolving to reduce it a penny a pot, with an express and positive condition that the porter, notwithstanding its reduction, should continue to be at least of as good a quality, if not a better—would not all the London Brewers, with Mr. Whitbread, perhaps, at their head, strongly remonstrate and loudly complain against the gross injustice of such proceedings? Suppose that Mr. Whitbread, in vindication of his character and conduct, should venture to arrest the attention of the rioters by declaiming on the very high price of hops—carefully avoiding any notice of certain other ingredients which Porter Brewers too often use—suppose the very high price of labour, whether by horses or men, were also urged, together with the popular complaint of high rents and heavy taxes—can Mr. Whitbread or any man for a moment believe, that the sapient Leaders of the Mob, or their more

sapient followers, would desist from their diabolical designs? No: In order to gratify their wishes, or lower the price of porter, the Tyrants of the Hour, dressed in their brief authority, would immediately proceed to the accomplishment of their abominable projects, by gutting, destroying, and setting fire to his Brewery in the first place, and to all the other Breweries in regular succession! Suppose that previously to this shocking scene—which it is most earnestly prayed may never happen — Mr. Whitbread should have obtained another hearing with the rioters, and that in appealing to their feelings he should recapitulate his faithful and numerous services to the people, particularly to those, improperly at the time of speaking, called the lower orders, can any man of the most credulous belief entertain the most remote idea, that Mr. Whitbread's appeal would have the smallest effect in appeasing their wrath, or diverting them from their purpose? No: The Honourable Member might pour the balm of his eloquence into their unhallowed ears; he might charge their recollection with the truth of this assertion, that he had uniformly been the Parliamentary Champion of the Poor; he might, in language of the most forcible persuasion, advance the boldest and most unqualified assurances, that, had it not been for his most strenuous and indefatigable opposition to the measures of Ministers,

the people would have been subjugated and overwhelmed with taxes, and the noses of the poor would in a figurative sense been kept to the mill-stone! But all these appeals would be found idle and unsatisfactory. Their *Jack Cade* would in all probability make this sharp but bitter reply—" Mr. Whitbread, you have made a very fine speech. Your opposition to Ministers was to serve your own views; to answer the purposes of your Party! This is the time for action, not for speeches! Let the price of the porter be a penny a pot less; and let it be at least as strong, or stronger! These are our conditions—or * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *." Suppose these insurgents should then persist in committing the most abominable outrages and crimes—such as destroying of machineries, burning of brew-houses, &c. &c. maiming, murdering, and plundering many of the innocent inhabitants, workmen, proprietors, &c. among whom might, perhaps, be some of Mr. Whitbread's own family, his own nearest and dearest connections —would not the worthy but unfortunate Gentleman have just cause for the bitterest complaints against such detestable monsters? Would not Parliament and the Country be emulous of each other in expressions of the utmost horror and justest execration against the perpetrators of such abominable deeds?—Deeds! at the bare recital of which humanity would shudder and revolt—deeds which would greatly heighten our public

calamities, greatly embitter the increasing aggravation of our public misfortunes, by making every native of England feel and be ashamed, that the country had been dishonoured and disgraced beyond all preceding periods of outrage and barbarism. If this be a true sketch, a faithful delineation, of what may be supposed would in such insurrections or commotions have happened, let Mr. Whitbread and his Friends seriously weigh all the circumstances—let them coolly form fair and impartial comparisons—let them apply the illustrations to their own bosoms—and then both he and they will see the absolute necessity for the additional powers granted by the New Bill, and, by a cheerful acquiescence, directly imply the praises of Government for its new securities.

When from any change of manners, or a new emergency, a necessary law became defective, the wisdom of our Ancestors pointed out the requisite alteration or amendment. The present disturbances, assuming a tone and character widely different from those of preceding ages, render additional powers to the Magistrates a matter of State Necessity. That the districts alluded to have become disgracefully riotous; that the rioters have been guilty of such excesses as to enfeeble and degrade the authority of the Magistrates; that they have committed such crimes as can be equalled only in the days of the greatest barbarism; every person not deaf

and blind by the prejudice of party will readily admit. No man actuated by sentiments of humanity can reflect on the alarming circumstances, such as they are represented by the Reports of the Committee of the Lords and Commons, without experiencing the most painful sensations. Taking the facts as communicated by the Committee of the House of Lords, because more minutely detailed than those stated in the Report of the House of Commons, any delay or suspension of the New Bill militates as the greatest cruelty to the peaceable inhabitants of the disturbed districts. Whatever arguments Mr. Whitbread and his friends may advance against the Bill, however much they may condemn the new powers intended, it requires no conjuration to maintain, that it is much better to interrupt the progress of the insurrections at once by the new measures, than to experience the necessity of encountering open rebellion. If a desire be entertained to incapacitate any person from the execution of his project, the shortest and safest way is to deprive him of the means. This observation, it is presumed, may also serve as a satisfactory answer to the objections made against the additional powers of the New Bill by night as well as by day.

But the Opposition seem fearful lest the spirit of insurrection should be too soon subdued. They fondly calculate on the embarrassment and confusion of Government; they anticipate dissen-

sions in the Cabinet, with all the consequences of violent differences and personal animosities; they exultingly imagined, that by fomenting the disturbances in the North through the medium of temporising speeches in Parliament, they would drive the present Ministers from the helm, and oblige the PRINCE REGENT to solicit, to beg, the favour of their services! If these were not their views, then why cherish and recommend measures which tend to the prolongation, not the suppression, of the riots? Then why inflame, not appease, the minds of the insurgents? Then why, in short —for as the law now stands it cannot be exercised or enforced in the disturbed districts— most earnestly enjoin the suspension or disuse as it were of all law? It having been clearly proved, that, without the additional powers, the civil authorities cannot with safety be fully resumed, and that in some districts they have almost totally ceased, having been superseded by those of a revolutionary nature, the malignant conduct of certain Members of Opposition, therefore, deserves the severest reprobation. It were to be wished, that the designs of their ambition were confined to the true policy of a fair and an honest English Opposition—an Opposition on the principles of Mr. Burke rather than on those of Mr. Fox—an Opposition by which the Monarchy and the Constituted Authorities are not to be put to the hazard of revolutionary theories. The Structures from the New Orders of

French Architecture, founded in sand, soon toppled from the summit to the centre, and from the centre to the base; those of true English Origin, founded on our native rock, remain unshaken by surrounding tempests, and triumph in the storm.

With the exception of the unhappy rioters of the Northern Counties, the Country is tranquil and quiet. Every good subject, feeling for the honour and glory of the British Name, is contented to suffer privations which public exigencies render unavoidable. The malcontents have therefore no hope of an extended revolt, no hope of a general rising! The restless ambition of our Antient Chiefs, during that spirit of Oligarchy which sometimes commanded the destinies of our Monarchs, would in these times prove of no avail! *Warwick's* occupation's gone; no *King-maker* would now receive encouragement in England! No sudden commotions, no unceasing broils, as in the days of *York* and *Lancaster!* No expectation that treason against the State would be successful! Then why, by an opposition to corrective and suppressive measures, cajole miserable wretches to their ruin? It is far from an honourable employment to be instrumental in furnishing victims for the gibbet, The insurgents, surely, were not taught to expect, like those of former times, some powerful co-operation from the disaffected of other counties, peculiar to their own re-

spective soil and climate; such as arising from the political brewings in *Bedford*, the wine-brained stimulus of *Norfolk*; the fermented acidities in *Northumberland*, or the acrid humours of *Lauder*, near the bonnie banks of the Tweed! But, whatever be the real sentiments of the Gentlemen who head the Opposition Phalanx, the peace of society, the preservation of every thing dear to us both in Church and State, the proper maintenance of our power both at home and abroad, all these imperiously require, that our laws and institutions should be acknowledged, respected, and feared, by all ranks of the community—

Jura inventa metu injusti fateare necesse est,
Tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.
Nec Natura potest justo secernere iniquum,
Dividit ut bona diversis, fugienda petendis.
* * * * * *————————————
————————————————Adsit
Regula, peccatis quæ pœnas irroget æquas.

The next important point on the State of the Country is that of the ROMAN CATHOLIC QUESTION. Although the subject of the disturbances in the Northern Counties is from its particular nature more urgent in its discussion, being, when compared with Ireland, at our own doors and under our own eyes, yet on the settlement of the Roman Catholic Claims depends far more essential interests and more permanent consequences: not that the putting down and extinguishing the spirit of rebellion in either coun-

try is a topic of light consideration to the Ministers for the time being; but that a question of such vast magnitude, regarding principles of conscience and religion, embraces in its general scope and tendency rights and privileges widely different from the vague pretensions of the usurped authority of a mob, hostile to all civil establishments. In discussing the merits of a question of the very highest importance to millions of the human race, all living under the dominion of the British Government, the professors and followers of the Roman Catholic Religion demand every degree of liberality and respect consistent with SECURITIES for our CHURCH and STATE.

History records the fact, and by all religious sectaries within these kingdoms it ought to be gratefully remembered, that to the Roman Catholic Priests or Monks we are indebted for the communication of that portion of learning and enlightenment which rapidly promoted the civilization of mankind. By some men it has been alleged, that had those learned fathers and profound philosophers foreseen, that the enlightenment of society would have tended to shake or to overthrow the supremacy of their religion, the clouds of barbarism, so far as regarded instructions from their cloistered treasuries of learning, would have still been suffered to overshade the European World. Although certain modes in the exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion,

such as reciting part of the service in Latin, a language totally unknown to the lower classes, may corroborate such an opinion, yet, on account of the wonderful and happy benefits derived from the promulgation of learning, a judgment less harsh and severe ought to be formed. To the wise and benevolent teachers alluded to the greatest obligations are certainly due. Had it not been for their laudable efforts, the darkness of the Middle Ages would not have been so easily dispelled; the arts and sciences, together with the discoveries and erudition of the antients, would have been less quick in their progress to posterity; and that sun which served to dissipate the gloomy shades of wretched ignorance, might have continued much longer in a partial eclipse.

But with all our respect and veneration for those inestimable benefactors of the civilized world, with every wish to encourage and improve principles of toleration, with every sentiment of liberality and freedom in favour of all descriptions of Dissenters from the Established Church, whether of the Romish or any other persuasion, the fair and candid of every religious denomination will readily admit, that it is incumbent upon the Members of the Church of England, when the extension of *political* power is demanded by the Roman Catholics, to take especial care that solid, unquestionable, and satisfactory SECURITIES shall be previously made in support of the

PROTESTANT RELIGION, and of course the NATIONAL CHURCH. Let the Roman Catholics give such SECURITIES as may be deemed wise and proper by Parliament, such as will maintain in these realms the indisputable controul and ascendancy of the PROTESTANT CHURCH and PROTESTANT GOVERNMENT, as frequently sanctioned and confirmed by the Legislature, and then the most jealous and fastidious friend of the Church of England need not for a moment scruple to admit the Roman Catholic, as well as any other Dissenter giving such securities, to a free participation of *political* power. But the SECURITIES requisite have been long ago pointed out and described by the penetrating sagacity of our ancestors, men who in very troublesome times, were obliged to contest and settle with the Roman Catholics their religious as well as political differences. Without securities of the nature now mentioned, all Members of the PROTESTANT CHURCH and PROTESTANT GOVERNMENT are bound by every principle of prudence to resist the claims now made. It would be infatuation and madness in the extreme to grant a participation of the *political* power desired by the Roman Catholics without affording on their part every security which Parliament might deem requisite. From the reports of meetings of Roman Catholic Bodies in Ireland, we learn, that resolutions were passed declaratory of their determination to *refuse* to the Protestant Church and

Protestant Government every degree of security whatever; that, according to these proceedings, as reported in the Newspapers, the Roman Catholic Bodies alluded to resolved to *insist* on the grant of their claims without affording any security; and that they expected the full and speedy *surrender of their political rights and privileges—without consenting to any condition on their part!!!*

If these facts be well founded, as emphatically and conspicuously printed in the Newspapers, the Protestant Church and Protestant Government ought to make a stand against such daring encroachments. It appears as if these rash and inconsiderate men were resolved to ruin their own cause by a direct and violent invasion of the Established Church and Government. They want, however, the means to execute such a bold and dangerous enterprise. In certain cases it is wisdom in Government to connive at the progress of opinions which may be indirectly hostile to the State; because, if they have not the power for the time to repress them without endangering the peace of the public, a change of sentiment may be produced by the change of human affairs; and thus Government may recover its functions and authorities in as great a degree of plenitude as before that dangerous revolution of public opinion. The Roman Catholics, however, ought to know, that the indecorum, not to say

folly, of such proceedings, evince a temper and a tone by no means calculated to impress on the minds of the Protestants, the most favourable ideas of the real intentions of the Catholic Petitioners. Although the Roman Catholics are a very numerous and highly respectable body of his Majesty's subjects, yet, as Non-Conformists, *they deprive themselves* of certain privileges, which former Ministers have positively denied, as incompatible with the safety of the State. It has been insinuated, that the majority of the people of Ireland are very indifferent as to the decision of the question by Parliament; and that as they have the free and uncontrouled exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion as their consciences direct, they would be much more pleased if their great and opulent proprietors would seriously endeavour to *better the condition of the poor* of our sister kingdom. If it be true that the majority of the people of Ireland, thankful for the toleration which they enjoy, desire only an improvement in the internal state of their country, it follows, that the question of the Catholic Claims is a favourite point with some of the leading men only; and that the people at large are as little anxious about the success of it as they are about the health or existence of the young *King of Rome*, or any other baby whom they never saw or cared for. But Government might soon ascertain the fact, which is certainly of great importance. A Committee

might be deputed to inquire into particulars, and on their statement, arising from information on the spot, an immediate decision might take place.

In most discussions, there is often a difference of opinion as to words or terms. Now many men of very liberal sentiments cannot understand what is meant by the word "*Emancipation*," when applied to the Roman Catholics. If by "Emancipation" the Protestants are given to understand *a redemption from slavery*, the word is certainly misapplied, so far at least as regards their living in a free country and under the British Government. As the Roman Catholics have the *free* and *uncontrouled* exercise of their religion, the word "Emancipation" cannot with any propriety have any reference to them—unless it be taken in some *figurative* sense which has hitherto remained unexplained. But perhaps it is used as a deception to the lower class, which is always the most numerous, and whose prejudices may be thought of great moment on the present occasion. No idea will sooner inspire an Englishman, or any person living under the British Government, with a resolution of resistance, than to impress upon his mind that he suffers the inflictions of slavery, and must therefore be ready and willing to insist upon "Emancipation," the inherent right of every British subject. The imposition thus practised upon the vulgar will immediately take deep

root, and rise rapidly into a flame, which with the Roman Catholics can alone be extinguished by the all-prevailing influence of their Priests. It having always been the policy of the latter to ensnare the people to a submissive deference to their authority, they easily manage or direct any conflict of the passions. It might appear illiberal to make any reference to the curses and execrations of the Romish Church, which in former times were dealt out with the superfluous beneficence of a spendthrift; but they have always been found an inexhaustible fund. The Priests could therefore with much safety draw on such an Exchequer, as they were well aware that their drafts would always be honoured. "Emancipation" was of course the object to be attained, and, in the minds of the poor ignorant people, no price is too high for the purchase. But, instead of applying "Emancipation" to the lower orders, and thus rendering them disaffected to the Government from which they derive all their peace and happiness, it would be more charitable to admit its application to the POPE, by stating, that the Roman Catholics meant by "Emancipation" *His Holiness's Release from the bondage of Bonaparte.*

All obnoxious acts, all those which militated in any degree against toleration in religion, have long since been done away. So far therefore as the enjoyment of these blessings, the Roman Catholics have already a compleat "Emancipa-

tion." It is to be hoped that they will not carry their ideas of false "Emancipation" so far as to force the Legislature, from motives of prudence, to the unpleasant recurrence of restrictive measures, instead of those of indulgence or the acknowledgment of new rights. It is a true and melancholy fact, that the Roman Catholics have in all ages abused their *political* powers; and therefore any laxity of law regarding their exercise of such political rights ought to be a question of much serious consideration. By the compleat toleration of their religious worship, the Roman Catholics are now placed on an equality with members of the Established Church—with the exception of holding the highest offices in the State—and every exception of the kind may be easily done away by the Roman Catholics consenting to *qualify* themselves for the acceptance of such offices. If therefore they in this view mean a state of "Emancipation," they have themselves only to blame for it, because they obstinately refuse to conform to the law as enacted by the wisdom of Parliament. They surely cannot have seriously the folly to imagine, that our Legislature would ever consent to put them on a better footing than the members of the Protestant Church and Protestant Government. As the Protestants are obliged, before their acceptance of those offices, to qualify themselves by the requisite oaths, it is only expected that the Roman Catholics should

also conform to the same qualifications. If they refuse to take the requisite oaths—such oaths as the Protestants themselves are obliged to take—they consequently refuse to give the fair and lawful price for the purchase of those political rights, and therefore disqualify and exclude themselves from those high offices. Without the NECESSARY QUALIFICATIONS and NECESSARY SECURITIES—such as given by the Protestants themselves—a Protestant Government and a Protestant Parliament are bound by the most solemn of all duties to give *a direct* and *an unequivocal negative* to the Catholic Claims. The Roman Catholics, by refusing all qualifications—all securities—appear as if they intended to commit a burglary upon Parliament and Government, to break in and seize upon Protestant rights and Protestant privileges, as if those rights and those privileges had cost us nothing by the lavish and profuse expenditure of the best treasure and dearest blood of our ancestors!

Without their consent to the *Veto*, what success can the Roman Catholics seriously expect? And here, again, the Protestants, actuated by principles of liberality, desire to put *the Roman Catholic Bishops upon the very same footing only as the Bishops of the Established Church.* As the King, by the *Veto*, has the power of rejecting or confirming the choice or nomination of the Protestant Bishops, the King ought to have the

same power in the choice or nomination of the Roman Catholic Bishops. Were the Roman Catholics to give up this point, which must always continue to be an insurmountable bar to their claims, other differences would certainly be reconcileable to the Protestant Church and Protestant Government. But the apparent policy of the Roman Catholic Priests has in several instances been in direct opposition to the Noblemen and Gentlemen who had been entrusted with their Petitions to Parliament. A very important fact may serve to corroborate this assertion:—when, on a particular occasion, the Roman Catholic Delegates (the Noblemen and Gentlemen alluded to) had consented to this concession on the part of the Catholics, that is to say, to the King's *Veto* in the appointment of their Bishops, the Priests afterwards finding that they had gone farther in their concessions as individuals than the Roman Catholic Church would allow, obliged them to rescind their concessions of the King's *Veto*—but to persist in the demand of their claims, *without giving any security whatever to our Protestant King or our Protestant Government!* Such a policy, and such a spirit of contradiction to the engagements of their Delegates, cannot fail of exciting sentiments of considerable jealousy and suspicion, even in the minds of the most moderate Members of the Protestant Church or Protestant Government. Were the latter to grant the Roman Catholics, after such a violation

of preliminary engagements, *an unconditional surrender of rights* —— as claimed and insisted on by the meetings in Ireland—it would prove that the present race of Protestants were unworthy of the powers which they lawfully inherit; that by such a pusillanimous conduct they knew not how to value the prize which they possess; that by such a shameful degeneracy, such unbecoming and unmanly apprehensions and fears, the Established Church and the Protestant Government not only reproach and libel their illustrious ancestors for their glorious achievements in the cause of civil and religious liberty, but, with their eyes and their minds open, precipitate themselves into the most abominable of all disgraces, that of a *felo de se!*

But the Friends of the Roman Catholic Claims have as yet no great cause of triumph. *Between the two Houses of Parliament there is a very wide difference of opinion.* The strenuous efforts of Mr. Whitbread, zealously seconded in his Opposition arguments on this subject by several respectable Members, have certainly produced a considerable effect —— especially when strengthened and enforced by the comprehensive mind, the lively genius, and the animated eloquence, of Mr. Canning. But, unless all their liberal ideas and fine speeches operate more powerfully on the cool and steady judgment of the Peers, any measure of the ex-

tent now surmised in favour of the Roman Catholics would appear idle and nugatory, when opposed and negatived by a very great majority of the Upper House. If the Roman Catholics, therefore, be obstinately bent on *political* power, *let them qualify themselves* by the requisite oaths; let them come into office with clean hands and pure hearts; or let them repose in confidence on the liberal principles and excellent tendency of the *Annual Indemnity Bill*, totally exonerating Dissenters of all descriptions, consequently Roman Catholics, from the pains and penalties of the law, after the acceptance of office, and after neglecting or refusing to qualify themselves agreeably to the usual Statutes. But the benevolent provisions of the Indemnity Bill, which is *regularly passed every Session*, will not satisfy the Leaders of the Roman Catholics; *they insist upon a full participation of political power*; an uncontrouled, unlimited, not an eleemosynary power; a power, if at any time deemed safe and expedient, to *direct and command Parliament*, to *change the Succession*, and to *overthrow a Protestant Establishment and a Protestant Government!* That these are the views of the Leaders, no Protestant of the smallest reflection can have a doubt;—and as to the *Majority* of the Catholic Body, they are perfectly satisfied, and perfectly thankful, for the rights and liberties which they already enjoy, under a Government the mildest in principle, and the

happiest in effect, of all the Governments hitherto constituted by the wit or invention of man. If the Roman Catholics, therefore, will not consent to take *the usual oaths* for the safety and protection of such a Government, or if they will not remain contented with the kind and humane operations of the *Annual Indemnity Bill*, they certainly confess themselves very unreasonable in their demands, and plainly indicate, that more is meant than meets the ear. It may with truth be said—"They incapacitate themselves, they exclude themselves from office," and wish, by peevish and unprovoked differences, to throw the blame of their exclusion at the doors of the Protestants. They want our article but refuse our price. They do not attempt to cheapen it, or beat us down; but boldly affirm, that they ought to have it, must have it, and shall have it—FOR NOTHING!

In these days of liberality and refinement, it would perhaps, in the opinion of some fastidious gentlemen, be reckoned very unfair to make particular references to the fulminating bulls, to the curses and excommunications, of the Roman Catholic Church; but if such references prove and expose their uniform abuse of *political* power, the delicacy of such gentlemen must give way to useful and stubborn truths. By the Council of Lateran, held in 1215, (the 15th of King John) there is "a general injunction to all secular powers *to exterminate heretics!*" And

this mild and charitable injunction was enforced with every degree of rancour and vengeance. This act declared, that "if any Temporal Lord neglect to purge his dominions of such heretical corruption, after being required and admonished by the Church, by his Metropolitans, and by his other Bishops, so to do, *let him be immediately bound in the chains of excommunication!*" It then, on such Temporal Lord contumaciously refusing satisfaction, *absolves his subjects from their just allegiance*, and proclaims *his territories open to the just seizure and occupation of Catholic Powers*, who shall *possess them without controul!!!*" Could the PRINCE REGENT, as a Protestant Prince, on the perusal of such an act, which still exists, because it has never been rescinded or renounced by the Church of Rome, and therefore still continues in spirit and in force as the system and principles of that Church—could the PRINCE REGENT, as the Guardian of a Protestant Church and a Protestant Government, concede the Catholic Claims without not only possessing his *Veto* in the appointment of Bishops, but also such other concessions or securities as His Royal Highness, in conjunction with his Ministers and Parliament, may see inevitably requisite. "The chains of excommunication," in these more enlightened days, may appear ridiculous and absurd; but the power of "*absolving subjects from their allegiance*, and proclaiming *his territories open to the just seizure*

and occupation of Catholic Powers," is an influence and an usurpation of such a dangerous nature over the minds of men, when about to come in closer contact by the indulgence of political power, as naturally to cause unavoidable suspicions on the part of any Protestant Prince, however liberal in sentiment and however tolerant in principle. It is well known that the POPE himself, the person who can at any time assume this dangerous and unwarrantable power over the Catholic subjects of all Foreign Princes, is at this very time in the custody or controul of our implacable enemy; and that His Holiness, about to make *an amicable arrangement with the French Government*, has very lately arrived in *Paris!* Gratitude, honour, and humanity, would instantly revolt, with sentiments of generous indignation and just abhorrence, at the most remote idea of absolving our fellow-subjects of the Roman Catholic persuasion from their duty and allegiance to the Prince and Government under whom they have the happiness to live; but it cannot be forgotten by Protestants, that, although BONAPARTE seems now too busily employed with his armies in the North, yet that he has his Ministers and Emissaries in Paris, fully empowered to make an amicable adjustment with the Pope, or to embrace the opportunity of any other political advantage. Although on the part of the British Roman Catholics any defection of duty to our

Prince or our Government cannot for a moment be entertained, yet we all know the restless ambition and malignant activity of the enemy; and that, if the smallest hopes of success were to attract the attention of that enemy, by any temporary distress of our country, there would not be wanting an host of *French Agents*, and *French Roman Catholics*, to attempt the corruption of the Roman Catholics of Ireland and elsewhere, through the medium of the POPE, at present the vassal of BONAPARTE. We highly respect the aged and venerable personage now nominally at the head of the Romish Church. His virtues and his sufferings would reflect honour on the finest eulogy. The public misfortunes of great and distinguished characters become respectable from their magnitude, and from the distance between their highest elevation and their lowest fall. An insinuation, however, from a combination of circumstances, naturally arises, that, had there been no hopes of reconciling the POPE to the purposes of BONAPARTE, His Holiness would long ere now have been consigned to the grim and silent mansions of the brave but unfortunate D'ENGHIEN!

From all the various circumstances connected with the Roman Catholic Question, it is more and more evident, that the admission, not concession, of the King's *Veto* in the appointment of the Roman Catholic Bishops, ought to be *the preliminary part of the negotiation or engagement*

with Government. If the PRINCE REGENT (on behalf of the King his ROYAL FATHER), as a PROTESTANT PRINCE, is not to have the *Veto*, then who is? It is not surely meant to continue it in the possession of the POPE, as he is now a vassal of BONAPARTE, consequently hostile to the interests of Great Britain. The Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland cannot have the folly or madness to countenance such a proposition. If they refuse it to the PRINCE REGENT, the Protestant Prince who is now in the full exercise of the sovereign authority of these realms—and if they refuse it to the POPE, who, as the servant of BONAPARTE, is no longer the *independent* head of the Romish Church—then who is the Personage selected by the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland for the powers of the *Veto?* In the embarrassed state of their arrangements, as they are seemingly likely to deprive themselves both of our PROTESTANT REGENT and the *Frenchified* POPE, they surely cannot mean to elect an *Irish* Pope from among their own Bishops! Such a choice would certainly be a great novelty in the ecclesiastical world! His *Irish* Holiness would at least have this peculiar advantage, in compleat contradistinction to all his predecessors of the Papal Throne, that as the soil and climate of our sister-kingdom are notoriously congenial for the production of *Bulls*, the new Pope might with wonderful facility issue or send forth as many as he pleased.

But why make any hesitation respecting the admission of the *Veto* to the PRINCE REGENT? The King of England has for several centuries denied the authority of the Pope of Rome in all ecclesiastical affairs within his dominions. In the year 1535, this authority was by a full Parliament declared null and void; and the King of England acknowledged, as by antient right, Supreme Governor, in all causes, and over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil. The King of England has not yet renounced his superior cognizance and uncontroulable command in all these matters; and as he still possesses—with leave perhaps of his *Irish* Holiness—the supreme right of patronage throughout his extensive dominions, especially the right over all ecclesiastical benefices, his right of course to the *Veto* in the appointment of Roman Catholic as well as Protestant Bishops, cannot any longer be disputed—unless by his *Irish* Holiness, who may have some strange idea of entering into a competition with the PRINCE REGENT. If the concession of the *Veto*, and the taking of the *qualifying oaths*, be considered enormous hardships by the Roman Catholics, they have only to remain contented with the full toleration of their *worship*, and relinquish their claims to *political* rights. Neither the PRINCE REGENT nor his Ministers, nor Parliament, unless urged indirectly on the occasion, would think it necessary to call upon the Roman Catholics to

enter into these qualifications, as securities for the attachment of the Roman Catholics to our Government. They remain unmolested; and if they or their priests chuse to raise a spirit of discussion, consequently differences of opinion, they have themselves only to blame for the consequences. In the full and undisturbed enjoyment of the exercise of their religion, the Protestants are not very emulous of imitating the rigid and uncharitable conduct of the Roman Catholics, as directed by the memorable act of the Council of Lateran, from which it may not be amiss to give another quotation:—

"We (the very same act and the very same Council) declare, that not only those who profess heretical tenets, but all *receivers, protectors,* and *favourers* of *Heretics,* are, *ipso facto, excommunicated*; and we strictly ordain and command, that any such shall be publicly branded with excommunication, if they shall refuse to make satisfaction, and submit themselves to the Church, within a year, they shall be infamous, nor shall be admitted to any public office or council, nor to elect any persons to such, nor give testimony in any cause; neither shall they be capable of making wills, nor of succession, as heirs or representatives to any estate; they shall be incapable of suing in any court, but may themselves be sued. If any such person shall happen to be a judge in any court, his sentence shall be null and void, nor shall any cause be prosecuted before him. If he shall happen to be an advocate, he shall not be admitted to practice; if a notary, instruments drawn up, prepared, witnessed, or executed by him, shall also be void and of no effect, but condemned with their guilty framer: and we command that the same shall be observed in all similar cases."

Now as this is part of the very same act—very charitably worded—which kindly "*absolves*

subjects from their allegiance, and proclaims his (any Prince's) *territories open to the just seizure and occupation of Catholic Powers,*" and as this act is still in existence and in force, according as the head of the Roman Catholic Church may at any time desire, it consequently follows, that a Protestant King and a Protestant Government ought to have satisfactory and indubitable *Securities*, (besides the admission of the *Veto*), for the safety of the State, before any grant of political powers to Roman Catholics directed and controuled by the powerful operations of such an act. That such an act continues to exist cannot be denied. It has never been openly renounced, and remains ready to be acted upon according to the emergency, prejudice, or passion of the Roman Catholic Church. The very same oath which was taken then, and many ages before, is taken *now* by the Roman Catholic Bishops, part of which runs thus——" Schismaticos, *Rebelles, et Hereticos pro posse persequar et expugnabo!*" The plain English of which is—" *I will to the utmost of my power persecute and destroy* schismatics, rebels, (to the Romish Church no doubt) and heretics!"—And the bull recited in the Passion Week is thus rendered into English—" *We excommunicate and curse all Hussites, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Hugonots, and Heretics, and whoever shall receive, defend, or favour them!*" *&c. &c.*—(For the particulars of the diabolical act of Lateran, see the

able tract of "Protestant Rights, &c.")—If these be the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church *at this very day*, the *securities* for the Established Church and Protestant Government become absolutely indispensible.

Some advocates for the Roman Catholics have alleged, as an argument in support of their refusal of the *Veto* and the *Securities*, that such restrictions were not in the contemplation of Mr. Pitt when he meditated his acquiescence to their claims. But these Gentlemen allow themselves to proceed in an error. Mr. Pitt never would have consented to the Roman Catholic Claims without obtaining the *necessary securities* for the safety of Government. Provided he had agreed to the concessions in favour of the Roman Catholics, he had not only resolved that the King should have the *Veto*, or something like it, but that they should have taken an oath as near to that of the Supremacy Act as could be framed; so that the Romish Church in these kingdoms would have been under the controul of our Government. To say that Mr. Pitt would have ever consented to the Roman Catholic Claims without proper securities, is an attempt to injure that character which will always stand high in the records of patriotism. Mr. Pitt was too partial to our Constitution, both in Church and State, to put all the blessings which we enjoy to the hazard, by the gratuitous admission of new members of a different persuasion to a participa-

tion of our Political Rights and Liberties. His penetrating mind was too conversant with the various connections of a mixed government not to have been fully aware, that the descendants of those men who had strenuously opposed the Protestant Establishment of those very Rights for which they so earnestly solicited, would never expect such a proof of our liberality, without some sincere and solemn guarantee of their attachment to the State. Mr. Pitt was impressed by too warm an affection for his Sovereign, he was actuated by too strong an anxiety for the happiness of posterity, he evinced too lively a regard for his own reputation and fair fame, as the Minister of a Country celebrated for public virtues, solid judgment, and political wisdom, not to have foreseen, that such an extraordinary amalgamation of interest, such a new participation of rights, demanded on his part every degree of security, and every effort of circumspection. It is well known that human judgment is never infallible; but in most cases some estimate may be formed, some deductions drawn, from the passions and principles by which men are agitated. Mr. Pitt was not only an able and a splendid Orator, but he possessed in an eminent degree those profound qualities which constitute a great Statesman. The proud spirit of the Roman Catholics may have then appeared too mighty for the restraints which the power of Government derived from the Constitution; but

if they calculated on deceiving Mr. Pitt, or on seducing him from what he inflexibly conceived to be his public duty, they had made very little progress in the art of ascertaining the extent of human credulity.

Previously to the year 1535, when our Sovereigns had the weakness and folly to admit the Supremacy of the Pope in ecclesiastical matters, there were frequent differences between them respecting the appointments of Bishops; and in most instances His Holiness was triumphant. From the repetition of these conflicts, our Sovereigns, inured at last to such a style of warfare, became less fearful of the denunciations or excommunications from the Papal Throne; and to these contests, which, as trials of strength, were often renewed by the English Monarchs, may be considerably owing the rapid rise of the Protestant Religion. Those embers, which for some time lay smothered or concealed, and were believed by the Members of the Romish Church to have been totally extinguished, the violent and overbearing spirit of Henry VIII. soon forced into an ungovernable flame. On the succession of Mary, which was a short but a bloody reign, too disgraceful and implacable to refer to the consideration of the present state of civilised society, a struggle was made to recover the Pope's Supremacy in these kingdoms; but the courage and capacity of Queen Elizabeth, who in many instances followed the policy of her Father, destroy-

ed the hopes of the Roman Catholics, and confirmed the Protestant Religion. The few efforts which have since been made by the Church of Rome, have all ended in bitter disappointments; and although Dr. Troy, in his Pastoral Letter to the People of Ireland, may assure them, that "Henry VIII. of England, the first Christian Prince that assumed ecclesiastical supremacy, by *commanding an enslaved Parliament to enact it as a law of the State*, and that *the Catholics consider it an usurpation*," consequently that *all Henry's Successors have been guilty of such an usurpation;* yet it may, without much danger of contradiction, be affirmed, that such a wonderful discovery of *usurpation against Catholic Interest* is not likely to produce the rescinding or expunging of the Act from the Journals of Parliament. As in his charge of usurpation against Henry, the Doctor, by saying, that "*the Catholics consider it an usurpation*," must mean that *his Successors also have been guilty of usurpation*, it is to be hoped, for the sake of decency and decorum, that *Pope Troy* will kindly and charitably condescend to make *an exception in favour of* OUR MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN, and the PRINCE REGENT! Such a charge of *usurpation* in these days, implicating not very obliquely *all the Successors of Henry*, cannot come with a very good grace from a Roman Catholic Priest, enjoying the uninterrupted blessings of our Protestant Constitution!

The late Bishop of London (Dr. Porteus) has left in writing a very able disquisition on the subject of the Roman Catholic Claims. This highly respectable man and learned divine declares, that had the prayer of the Petition been for a more compleat toleration, he would have most cordially assented to it; that his Lordship was always "*a decided friend to Liberty of Conscience*, and *to a full and free toleration* of all who differ, in religious opinions from the Established Church;" that this petition, however, was not for any indulgence or improvement in Liberty of Conscience, but an application for *political power;* that he was not for granting such a prayer, as "it would be difficult to produce a single instance where they have possessed *political power in a Protestant Country* without *using it cruelly and tyrannically;*" that their doctrines are "not only *hostile to the Protestant Religion*, but to a *Protestant Government;*" and, that when, "in 1793, Lords Petre, Stourton, and many other Catholic Gentlemen, on applying to Parliament for farther indulgence, made a renunciation of certain obnoxious doctrines, hostile to a Protestant Government, "the Pope of Rome took the alarm, and announced not only his *entire disapprobation*" of the obnoxious measure, by his Apostolic Vicar in England, but caused him to write an energetic Letter to these Gentlemen, *condemning what they had done*, and stating "*that condemnation was*

sanctioned by the Pope." The Bishop of London, viewing very properly this power through a political medium, adds—

"An unbounded influence over the hearts and consciences of men in spiritual matters, must necessarily be attended with great influence in civil and political concerns; and when we consider that the *Romish Clergy* of *Ireland* have an almost absolute command over their flocks; that the Clergy are appointed by the Bishops; that the Bishops are nominated by the Pope; and that the Pope *is now a mere tool in the hands of the French Emperor;* it is easy to see what power this must give him over the people of Ireland, and in how formidable a manner, in the present perilous and awful crisis, that power may be exerted."

His Lordship, then manfully affirms, that—

"*Roman Catholics and Protestants have never yet agreed together in administering the powers of Government;* and that England never enjoyed peace and security, till the ascendancy of one party was established by the downfall of the other. When the power of the Catholics and Protestants was nearly equal, it was a constant struggle for superiority. *The Corporation and Test Acts put a final period to that struggle.* Since those Acts passed, the Church of England has enjoyed perfect security and tranquillity."

The learned Bishop of London afterwards impressively recommends "*not to part with these bulwarks of our Constitution, civil and ecclesiastical.*" He also recommends "*toleration to all other religious sects and denominations whatever;* but at the same time *an exclusion of them, by proper tests, from all places of trust, authority, and power.*" His Lordship concludes—

"This is the only system that can give stability and peace to this kingdom. It has been found by experience, which is better than a thousand theories, to be the soundest

policy. It has *left us quiet for above an hundred years*; and it would be the highest imprudence to throw away this, our best safeguard, for visionary projects of innovation and improvement, in our Civil and Ecclesiastical Establishment."—*See the Life of Bishop Porteus, by Robert Hodgson, A. M.*

In surveying the STATE of the COUNTRY, the next attractive point of observation is that of our policy and power in the PRESENT CONTEST for the INDEPENDENCE and LIBERTIES of EUROPE. A very wide field here presents itself to the eye and to the mind of the Philosopher, the Soldier, and the Statesman. The contracted boundaries of a Pamphlet are ill suited to a range of discussion which necessarily comprehends the various interests and particular connections of nations. The Author of such a limited design may engage his reader for a short time on the surface; he may, perhaps, be enabled, in a cursory way, to communicate and explain the causes of certain operations; but were his sources extensive and intelligent, he must confine himself to his prescribed plan. It is the province of the Historian to embrace a wider scope and more enlarged views; to unfold the authentic rolls, the faithful records, of the times; to develope the secret springs, the main movements, of the great actors; to assign what portion prudence or chance, wisdom or folly, had in certain events; and to describe, in lively and glowing colours, those scenes in which were displayed the hands of a master.

As a *Naval* and *Military Power*, THIS COUNTRY has totally eclipsed all former combinations of art, science, and personal valour. *England* has reached the proudest period of her history. SHE ALONE, with honour and with glory, has opposed herself to the restless ambition, the unparalleled energies, and the insolent and overbearing triumphs, of a Conqueror who has almost wholly subjugated the Continent of Europe. With all the difficulties which we had to encounter, we have not only sullied his fame, but we have aroused and animated others to a spirited resistance; and, from the critical situation in which the tyrant is now involved, his hopes become considerably damped, and his prospects far more gloomy. Although years have elapsed since the modern French, organised on the new principles of warfare, experienced in Egypt defeat and dismay when combating against British soldiers; yet, till the appearance of Lord Wellington in Portugal, the devious march of the Enemy, his plans of attack, his manœuvres for victory, remained unexplored, unstudied, and nearly unknown. The brilliant and very admirable proof of our superiority, by the late splendid Victory over *Marmont* and his formidable Army, has elevated Lord WELLINGTON's name to the highest pinnacle of fame. To the professional discernment of the DUKE of YORK this Country is indebted for the judicious selection of so able and so fortunate a Commander. Some men have erroneously imagined,

that our Countrymen are less skilful, and more easily defeated, by land than by sea. It would be vain and idle, after so many contradictory testimonies, to engross the reader's time by refuting such a palpable absurdity; but in this memorable instance, at least, it cannot be denied, that his Royal Highness has been the means of exhibiting, through the illustrious deeds of *Salamanca*, an honourable rivalry to the glories of *Trafalgar*. The success of our arms, the steady fortitude of our troops, the apprehensions and fears of the French Armies in the Peninsula, have pointed out to neighbouring nations the manly manner of achieving their liberties. It is hoped that they will profit by the example of our bravery, and be fully convinced, that *neither Bonaparte nor his military myrmidons are invincible.* To an implicit belief of this dreadful report, together with the potent means of corruption, the French have often vanquished without striking a blow. By indefatigable perseverance, by bold and undaunted resolution, by that personal prowess which overlooks and despises all dangers, our gallant Countrymen have had the immortal honour of being solely instrumental in dispelling the magic of this delusion. The present race of Englishmen, meaning indiscriminately our fellow-subjects of the three kingdoms, have equalled, if not surpassed, the most renowned days of their ancestors. Never at any period

have we shown a bolder front; never a more brilliant display of national valour.

Thus in the fury of the tempest, in the midst of wrecks of surrounding nations, our Countrymen, under Providence, have been enabled to ride triumphant in the storm. If our Councils have been reviled and satirised by a Faction at home, let them look to their effects by our successful and glorious operations abroad. If the plans of Government have been condemned as unprofitable and unattainable, let their opponents witness the speed of execution and the many advantages resulting from their laudable enterprises. As our *Navy* is superior to any competition, having long ago swept away every enemy from the face of the ocean, its transcendant powers require at this time no panegyric. It would therefore be needless to recur to and dwell upon those deeds which a grateful country will remember to the latest posterity. In the slightest glance, however, of such brilliant scenes, the wisdom of our Councils was never more conspicuous than in the capture of the Danish Fleet at *Copenhagen*. Having been sold as it were to Bonaparte, or the latter having frightened the Crown Prince into a compliance with his tyrannical orders, such a valuable acquisition, united with the ships of the other Northern Powers, would have soon afforded him hopes of disputing with us effectually the Sovereignty of the Seas. To the Councils who rendered us

this inestimable service Great Britain is certainly highly indebted. Had it not been for this wise act of foresight, neither *Russia* nor *Sweden* would at this time in all probability have been capable of struggling for their independence. We should have seen the whole inhabitants of the Northern States linked with the Dutch into one chain as the galley-slaves of Bonaparte; we should have seen them fighting, although reluctantly, against a Power the most friendly to their interests, when not under the direction and lash of the tyrant; we should have seen them as his Naval Conscripts, bound hand in hand for the purposes of his cruel ambition, and bleeding and groaning under that yoke which they durst not venture to unchain. If these be not proofs of the wisdom of such Councils, the world has yet to learn the true meaning of words or terms; the Explanations of our Vocabularies and Dictionaries ought to be reversed, and Faction may then attempt to teach the rising generation, that *circumspection* means supineness, that *prudence* means folly, and that *freedom* means slavery.

In contemplating our External Relations, a new and an unnatural Enemy has appeared in the late character and conduct of *America*. It is to be hoped, however, that her hostility will be but of short duration; and that when she hears of our Revocation of the Orders in Council, which were passed to counteract the mea-

sures of the French Government only, America will return to that cordial friendship, to that perfect understanding of her best policy, which can alone ensure the mutual prosperity and mutual happiness of both countries: Not but that either country could live totally independent of any aid, commercially or politically, from the other; but, by such a change, both would experience many temporary inconveniences, and many privations of comforts, besides being deprived of the agreeable intercourse, the pleasing sensations, which must always arise from close connections and unceasing intimacies between a Parent and her Infantine States, between a Mother and her Children. A rupture between such near and dear Friends is not to be considered as merely affecting the Orders of Council, but as affecting and reversing the Orders of Nature herself. It is like reversing and changing the Circulation of the American Blood; it is diverting it into strange and unnatural channels; it is reversing the operation of the heart, and its concomitant functions of the veins and arteries, by attempting a course of existence upon a new and an unknown principle. The Friends of both Countries must sincerely lament, that such a change has been produced in the American Councils; and although the French Faction may for a time maintain their ascendancy, yet it is presumed that the Americans will recur to their good sense and solid judg-

ment, and indignantly renounce political maxims which are inimical to their commercial independence and true interest. Should America still, unfortunately, persist in hostility, Great Britain has the satisfactory consolation of reflecting, that she has conducted herself with commendable temperance and dignified forbearance. The Royal Speech itself, a few days ago (July 29th), on the Prorogation of Parliament, has these words, strongly indicative of the PRINCE REGENT's generous sentiments on the occasion:—"His Royal Highness (say the Commissioners) has commanded us to assure you "(Parliament), that *he views with most sincere re-* "*gret* the hostile measures which have been re- "cently adopted by the Government of the United "States of America towards this country. *His* "*Royal Highness is nevertheless willing to hope,* "*that the accustomed relations of Peace and* "*Amity between the two countries may yet be re-* "*stored,*" &c. &c. This evidently proves the very great anxiety by which the PRINCE REGENT has been actuated in favour of the commercial intercourse and happiness of both countries. Cautiously avoiding every act in the most remote degree offensive, and prompt and cheerful in explanation, Great Britain, in the perfect recollection that she was laudably employed in adjusting differences between herself and her Children, in settling a sort of Family Quarrels, allowed herself, in some instances, to hear and bear language of reproach

instead of remonstrance, and to connive at indecorous terms and ungenerous insinuations, rather than afford any cause for war. The American Government, on the contrary, totally enervated by French Councils, has acted by fits, by starts, and by crooked and little means. But by *far the greater majority of the American People are strongly attached to the Mother Country*, and anticipate with warm and indignant emotions the pernicious effects of French Councils and French Principles. When Great Britain indicated the affections of the mind by patience and forbearance, America ought not to have mistaken her kind and liberal motives for those of pusillanimity and fear. To men of discernment, however, it appears a matter of great astonishment, that America should betray her real interest by such a short-sighted policy as wantonly to involve herself in the calamitous consequences of war. America ought to have steadily persevered in the cultivation and improvement of her agriculture—in planning new settlements and exploring new regions—in augmenting her external commerce by such internal sources as are incalculable in riches and extent—in tempting and encouraging new settlers from every part of the habitable world—in spreading her increased and increasing population over the territories of her vast dominions—and, particularly, in carefully abstaining, for a long series of years, from warfare in any shape. By

invariably adhering to these political maxims, America, in the course of a century, might become one of the most powerful nations on the face of the earth. She would thus have the best chance of preserving her *Union*, and, without the Union, America can never preserve the integrity of her empire. She will fall and separate into petty states, in humble imitation of those on the Continent of Europe, and the strongest will prey upon and immerge into its political vortex the shattered remains of the weakest. To this deplorable situation of affairs nothing can be more conducive than war. But it seems no concession on our part will satisfy the American Government, as now corrupted by French Principles. Kindness and forbearance have only served to render them higher in their tone and more peevish in their disposition. The greater our professions of friendship and anxiety to avoid an open rupture, the more unreasonable they become in their demands, and the more querulous and insolent in their remonstrances. They multiply their complaints in an extravagant manner. The chief, however, may be reduced to these heads — " The Orders in Council " — " The Right of Search "—" The Impress of American Seamen "—" The Confiscation of Vessels "— together with an enumeration of subordinate complaints, to swell their imaginary grievances. Imaginary ! it may be well said, as the Orders in Council have been revoked, and satisfactory

explanations given on the other subjects of ill-founded complaint. The Maritime Rights of England have long been known and acknowledged; and, in a war of such a serious tendency, when her whole strength must be brought forward, England would destroy at once her political ascendancy as a nation were she to suffer any abridgement of those rights on which our Naval Power in many respects depend. The separation or dissolution of the Union is already threatened, as the State of Massachusetts, since Mr. Maddison's Declaration of War, has passed some severe resolutions against such a wanton and serious act of mischief to the interests of the New World. America may imagine, that we shall feel exceedingly the privations of those supplies of Corn, &c. which our forces have lately received in the Peninsula. This will no doubt be a considerable inconvenience; but the British Government will soon remove it by the adoption of some effectual measure. *Canada* may also be considered as an object of rapacity for Maddison's French Party; but they may rest assured, that such arrangements are long ere now formed in that Province as to ensure the defeat of their unnatural invaders. If Canada, however, were the great object of ambition on the part of an American Government formed on friendly principles, we might perhaps have spared it, on some terms of an equivalent nature. In the multi-

plicity of the Colonies of such a vast Empire as that of Great Britain, the deduction of one province from the grand mass would not have been injurious either politically or commercially. Canada has not been a profitable concern. We have, upon the whole, been losers rather than gainers by it, and therefore our interest in it might have terminated without prejudice. But the subjects of England cannot brook any insolent encroachment; and, whenever the Frenchified Americans, with Maddison at the head of their Councils, attack Canada, they may depend upon a very warm reception.——Children of America! disturb not the sacred ashes of the gallant MONTGOMERY, who sacrificed himself in your cause, and whose spectre, if permitted to revisit your living world, would warn ye against the madness of your enterprise! Before ye advance against Canada, take an example by his fall! Descendants of Britain! hitherto distinguished for shrewd sense and solid judgment, for coolly calculating certain consequences from certain causes, make a timely halt, a solemn stand, on the precipice, before ye leap into the yawning gulph of destruction! Have ye fully contemplated all the calamities, all the horrors, of war? Can ye debase yourselves by French Fraternization under Bonaparte? Can ye resolve to unite yourselves with the Foe of Civil Society, the Butcher of the Human Race? In the fervency of my enthusiasm for the permanent happiness of both

countries, I think I see an interesting Groupe of departed Patriots, invoked by the Genius of America from the mansions of the dead, arraigning your Government at the Bar of the Republic! I feel myself strongly agitated by the paternal emotions, by the pacific voice, of WILLIAM PENN, reproaching and convulsing your Senate in an irresistible appeal against the wanton and unprovoked effusion of human blood! Behold FRANKLIN, the illustrious sage, penetrating into futurity, and assuring ye, that, with peace and harmony, your National Independence, his most ardent care, will become stronger and stronger by the powerful cement of time! Listen to the persuasive eloquence of WASHINGTON, whose virtues, when contrasted, render the infamies and perjuries of your New Ally, the late First Consul (or President), more repulsively black, more detestably obnoxious—Listen to the Admonition of that distinguished character, that sincere friend, who sealed and confirmed your Liberties.——The wise and humane PENN, the pure and philosophic FRANKLIN, the ever-memorable and ever-illustrious WASHINGTON, all these celebrated Patriots, in the face of your Legislators, in the face of your Nation, before the Grand Tribunal of God and of Man, most eagerly protest against your Declaration of War. They beg and pray that ye will not destroy their Good Work, their Grand Fabrick of Peace and Concord, which they so anxiously raised. They most earnestly implore,

that ye will not wound their fair fame by any alliance, any co-operation, with the French Tyrant, who aims at the overthrow of all Governments, and the enslavement of all mankind. They sincerely hope and most ardently intreat, that ye will not co-operate with a Man-Tiger, a New Monster, whose heart is of the hardest iron, and whose heart-strings are of the toughest steel. Avoid his manifold snares; fly from his bloody embraces——Return to the affections of your Mother, to the bosom of your Family!

Maddison and his Councils have not shown any profound political penetration on this great emergency. Although they have already proved, that *they are able and willing to do much mischief to the United States*, yet they have calculated very unwisely. An *offensive* war against this country on the part of the Americans must be—*a maritime war*. In their uncommon impatience to go to war, they have totally forgotten how easily by a few British Ships, stationed at particular distances, *we can shut or seal up all their sea-port towns*. All the silly, arrogant, and ill-founded pretensions of Mr. Maddison and his iniquitous Party in justification of war, drawling through their long, heavy, and somniferous State Papers, cannot undo the seals from off such bonds—they cannot afterwards keep the American sea-ports free and open. It may be asked, as America is determined on war, and as that war must be a maritime war, where are her means to contend

with the Mother Country? Where are her Ships? Where are her Fleets? Where her Artillery? Where her Seamen? America may issue Letters of Marque, as warranted by the President's Proclamation received some few days ago: she may with some success, for the sake of enriching avaricious individuals, attempt a predatory warfare by single ships; but America is not as yet able to contend with any of the Maritime Powers of Europe, and least of all with Great Britain. The Americans, perhaps, vulture-like may pounce upon a West India Island or two; but they will at last be severely punished for their foolish temerity. A small Squadron or Fleet from England may soon annihilate their whole Navy, soon batter New York, Boston, and all the maritime towns, about their ears. But as in commerce America is fond of a speculative market, in politics her whim may induce her to the experiment of a speculative war. America has not been very judicious in the choice of her time for such a bold enterprise. She has chosen that period, when of all others we are less engaged in naval warfare. Having vanquished all our Enemies, and completely swept them from the face of the ocean, whether in the East or in the West, in the South or in the North, our Seamen may be said to want some employment, in order to cherish or keep up that national spirit which has gained them the Sovereignty of the Seas. What chance has America against a Power whose victorious

and invincible Navy has sunk, captured, or destroyed, all the Fleets of Europe? — But if America, blind to her own folly, *forces* Great Britain to the disagreeable and unavoidable alternative of war, let America, unnatural America, have it. She will only disgrace herself, and add to our triumphs.

But neither the eye of an Englishman nor that of an American—with the exception of Maddison and his French Cabinet—can be gratified by looking on such an unpleasant prospect as that of a war between the two countries. The scene may therefore be changed without any reluctance to either nation.——In recurring to the Affairs of Europe, it is evident, that, since the usurpation of Bonaparte, the present Government of France has never been involved in such difficulties and dangers. The prudent conduct of Alexander, by retiring as his Enemy advances into the Russian Territories, promises every degree of ultimate success. Should the former steadily adhere to the same wise policy, and carefully avoid a general engagement—unless strongly tempted by some certain and irresistible advantage—famine and fatigue will effectually supersede the necessity of the cannon and the bayonet. The vast Armies of Bonaparte will soon experience a woeful diminution of numerical force; and his knowledge of positions and manœuvres, amidst such desarts and desolations, will avail him little or nothing. As his disappointments

and difficulties increase, the influence of despondency will be increased in a proportional ratio; and the lowering of his crest, in such a warfare, will greatly augment those ungovernable fits and spasms of irritation to which he is well known to be so commonly subject. The farther he marches into Russia, the greater and more alarming will be his embarrassments. In the progress of his invasion through a strange and barren country, he must seriously consider the means of retracing every step. The sum total of his hardships and dangers in Germany and Italy is far inferior to what he is now obliged to endure; and all the Plagues of Egypt embodied in the dissatisfaction of his troops, which for a time he encountered, till the remonstrances of his Officers and the complaints of his Soldiers induced him to seek personal safety by his cowardly desertion, all those weigh much lighter in the scale of comparison. Alexander has therefore only to keep at a prudent distance, and by removing the necessaries of life, and destroying its conveniencies, he will ensure victory to himself, and disgrace to the enemy. The latter, on such a march, will soon be impeded by evils far more pernicious than the Plagues of Egypt; and desertions, mutinies, and conspiracies, are the sure accompaniments of an unsuccessful Tyrant. But the circumspection of a good General will point out the necessity of providing for a retreat; and however much Bonaparte may

in such a case exercise his prudence, yet there can be no doubt that he commenced his invasion of Russia with every moral and physical means of success. After gratifying at Dresden his vanity, and indulging his Royal Vassals with the game of Kings and Queens—after his usual vapourings and blusterings—after attracting the attention of all Europe to the vast magnitude of his formidable preparations—Bonaparte dare not, even in the utmost extremity of danger, order a retreat. The adoption of such an inglorious alternative would not only be an open confession of his weakness and fallen greatness, but be the signal for revolutionary measures in Paris, and be the means of animating, with courage and capacity, in the cause of general emancipation, all others whom his tyranny has so cruelly enslaved. If Alexander, by harassing and impeding the march of the enemy, and by carefully avoiding a general and decisive battle, could divert Bonaparte till the approach of winter, the disgrace, if not the destruction, of the French would be certain. But if the Autocrat, deluded by the success of temporary expedients, should rashly venture on the chance of a general engagement, he may be assured, that his crafty and able adversary, concentrating all his means, and reviving all the former energies of his armies, and directing and invigorating the grand impulse of their assault, will prove victorious. The late renewal of the Treaty of Peace and Amity between *Eng-*

land, *Russia*, and *Sweden*, will greatly add to the serious apprehensions of the enemy. Notwithstanding Bernadotte's professions of the most sincere attachment to the cause of *Russia* and *England*, when opposed to the power of *France* as now directed, many reasons obviously present themselves against reposing too much confidence in this old favourite of Bonaparte. But be our suspicions well or ill founded, we confess that we should be much better pleased to find Bernadotte hang upon the rear of the French Army as their avowed enemy than join them as their confirmed friend. In such a critical situation, the prompt determination of Bernadotte will give a decided preponderance; but unless that determination be speedy, and *unequivocally decisive against the French*, the sincerity of his professions may be altogether doubted. The conduct, therefore, of the Swedish Army, at such a time and on such an emergency, becomes of the very highest importance to the interests of Europe. As Bernadotte was formerly Bonaparte's Agent in practices of court bribery and military corruption, it is incumbent on the Allies to use their utmost diligence in preventing his old master from outbidding them in the price for his services. It is also incumbent upon them, that they should previously so completely satisfy Bernadotte as to ensure in their favour the most cordial co-operation of the Swedish Army.

On returning to the *Peninsula*, the success and gallantry of Lord WELLINGTON, cannot be too

highly extolled. With glory in his front and victory in his rear, his Lordship continues to penetrate towards *Madrid*. The Enemy, either fearful or incapable of opposing him, remain at a humble distance, observing that march and those movements which they dare not interrupt. When he reaches this central point of destination (of which there cannot be entertained a doubt), his Lordship will have the singular success of having taken the new Capital of a new King, whose incapacity and pusillanimous conduct render him altogether unworthy of such an elevated situation. Lord WELLINGTON has had the honour of beating the ablest and most distinguished of BONAPARTE'S Generals; and, from his Lordship's present victorious career, the raising of the Siege of *Cadiz* may be anticipated, and the total overthrow of the French Armies in the Peninsula. Both in *Spain* and in *Portugal* Lord WELLINGTON has been chiefly instrumental in proving that our National Spirit, in all the varieties of British Enterprise and British Prowess, is still equal to the most renowned days of our Ancestors. Detachments from our Army have all been actuated by the same laudable emulation; and whether at Busaco or Barossa, Talavera or Albuera, Badajos or Ciudad Rodrigo, British Valour has been the subject of deserved panegyric. It would be needless to enumerate all the fields and fortresses which have witnessed the noble darings and the brilliant exploits of our Countrymen. Their glorious achievements will live in the hearts and in the

memories of the latest posterity. Another subject of praise ought not to be omitted. Our Countrymen have organised the Portuguese Nation, and taught them how to prize and how to defend their rights and independence. The same commendable work is at this time engaging the military ardour of the Spanish Nation also; and with such a population, formidable both in spirit and in numbers, and faithfully copying our noble example, the Spanish People may soon become too powerful for any force by which France may attempt their future subjugation.

Such are the effects likely to result from the present happy aspect of affairs. In aiding our Allies, whether by men or money, by ammunition or provisions, we have acted upon the soundest principle of policy, and have kept the immediate calamities of war at a distance from our own homes. The Opposition have uniformly reprobated any spirit of resistance on the part of this country; they have dwelt loudly and vehemently on the defeat or overthrow of our Allies, always charging our recollection with the fidelity of their predictions; they have so often prophesied, imitating the vapourings of Bonaparte, that not a man of our troops would be able to maintain a footing on the Peninsula, that at last ashamed of their folly, they are induced to hope for an oblivion of their libels against Lord Wellington and his Army by their unbounded praises of the success and heroism of

all their great names. Dispassionate men cannot, however, forget, that had Government taken the advice of these great Prophets and far greater Statesmen, the Continent of Europe would not now witness the present struggle for the independence of Russia, and our glorious laurels on the Peninsula would have never attained a maturity of growth. We should, in fact, have been obliged, long ere now, to have contended with the enemy at home—on our own plains or mountains—in our suburbs—in our streets—at the very threshold of our dwellings—we should have been obliged to contend at our own gates—with the very same restless and implacable enemy—for our King and Constitution, for our fire-sides and altars, for our Rights, Liberties, and Independence. Had Government listened to the weak or wicked advice of Opposition, by withdrawing or suspending our military energies, THIS COUNTRY, the Seat of the Social Virtues, the Cradle of Freedom, the Envy of the World, would in all probability have become a *Province of France*, and its proud inhabitants debased as the Vassals of BONAPARTE, with Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, perhaps, at their head, and a total change of property and proprietors. In such a cause, therefore, and against such an Enemy, our efforts cannot be too great, our sacrifices not too many.

Were the actual state of *France* to be contrasted with that of *Great Britain*, the latter

would present by far the most agreeable picture. Our population, on which the riches and strength of a country depends, continues to augment in a flattering ratio, notwithstanding the vast demands of our Armies—our Commerce is far superior to that of all the other parts of the world united—and our Income, notwithstanding certain projected improvements of finance, in consequence of a diminution of revenue by reason of some irregularities or derangements, is considerably beyond our expenditure, even after the enormous demands of an expensive but unavoidable war. Our National Spirit seems to rise with the necessities of the State; and, with the exception of the misled rioters in the disturbed counties, together with that description of malcontents common to every Government and to every age, the people, in the enjoyment of happiness, are unanimous in their encomiums of our successes in Spain and Portugal, consequently unanimous in their support of a politic and a necessary war.——Observe the contrast. *France*, faithfully delineated, presents a picture which requires a very different colouring. Bleeding and writhing under the stripes of the Tyrant, France exhibits a melancholy spectacle of fallen greatness. She yields up her neck to the yoke of BONAPARTE, the curse and scourge of the Continent of Europe; and, in silent sorrow, appears to drag reluctantly her galling chains. Her late courage,

the offspring of that abrupt enthusiasm which a slave derives on his first bursting from bondage, is sunk into and changed for that abject meanness, that grovelling prostration of person, which calls alike for the pity and contempt of mankind. Her mad dreams or wild reveries of a pure Republic, which opened to her enraptured imagination the Land of Liberty, and promised a permanency of felicitous enjoyment, appear at this time to her more sober senses her Paradise lost, her delusion of the fancy, her enchantment of the moment. France, in fact, is a country now groaning under manifold oppressions of the cruellest tyranny. She is often denied even the very privilege common to the most miserable of the human species, that of expressing by signs or by groans, by interjections or by exclamations, the sharp and excruciating agonies which she is forced to endure. Her laws depend on the caprice or cupidity of the Tyrant; and her acts of justice are frequent violations of good faith, frequent outrages of every moral and religious principle. Her Population is diminished and diminishing; her Commerce totally destroyed; her Navy annihilated; her Manufacturers and Mechanics starving at home, or dying with her Armies abroad; her Revenue becoming every day more and more precarious; and her resources, still forced to flow through the channels of robbery and murder, are nearly dried up and exhausted. Under such a slavish

despotism, and directed by such a restless Ruler, France can have no hopes of amendment at home, no hopes of relief from abroad. Even universal conquest would, during the life of the Tyrant—a life checkered by all the bitter aggravations of apprehension and fear—afford Frenchmen no extension of liberty, unless by liberty were meant a licence to insult and to trample upon their unfortunate vassals in the subjugated provinces. The frequent returns of his trembling fits and convulsive alarms will redouble his vigilance; and every additonal pressure of despotism is a proportional abridgement of freedom.

Under a mild Government, founded in rational principles; under salutary laws, constituted for the protection of society; under a limited Monarchy, admirably adapted for the genius of a free people; the PRESENT ADMINISTRATION, with commendable zeal and activity, is acting upon the wise policy and enlarged views of WILLIAM PITT. They are scions of the same root, of the same tree, whose constitutional branches, like our native oak, served to protect us against the daring encroachments of an enemy, so active in effort, so new in principle, and so new in antipathies, as in most instances to overturn all former maxims and calculations. At the head of this Administration is a Nobleman (Liverpool), who, at an early age in the House of Commons, when superior abilities and political virtues were

called in question, as qualities requisite for official situations then vacant, became the subject of Mr. Pitt's warmest panegyric. It would be idle to attempt any particular addition to what was far more neatly conceived, and far more handsomely expressed, than what the Author of these pages can pretend to offer. It may not, on this occasion, however, be amiss merely to notice, that, with the ablest talents for debate, that Nobleman is distinguished, as a Statesman, for patriotism of the purest tendency, for a perception accurate and acute, and for a judgment solid and decisive. Suffice it to say, that he has had the honour of having been selected by the PRINCE REGENT, who highly approving of his Lordship's conduct in the faithful discharge of his duty to his ROYAL FATHER, has been pleased to bestow upon him, under the controul of His Royal Highness, the present direction of our National Councils. And it is no small compliment to the splendid abilities and political sagacity of Mr. Pitt, that the PRINCE REGENT has thus not only approved of that Statesman's unavoidable hostility to the aggravating system and inordinate ambition of the French Government; but that his Royal Highness, in the plenitude of his discernment, has resolved to use every means for checking the progress of the enemy, and for reducing him to some given space or boundary which will not endanger the liberties of England or those of her Allies. For the attainment of that lau-

dable object, the PRINCE REGENT has ordered the chief energies of the State; and there is no doubt but that his Royal Highness's generous efforts in the glorious cause will be long gratefully remembered by the Spanish and Portuguese Nations. But had the Government of this country been regulated by the advice of the Modern Whigs, who generally recommended a tame submission to France, by accepting peace on any terms, the PRINCE REGENT would at this time, in all probability, have wanted the means of proving the sincerity of his beneficent disposition; and the British People, by the French Fraternization of the Modern Whigs, have been deprived of their Monarchy and Constitution, and indeed every remnant of Freedom. To whom are we therefore, under the guidance of Providence, indebted at this time for the salvation of our Rights and Liberties? To Mr. Pitt and his Colleagues, who first directed our Councils, first aroused and animated our National Spirit, for the preservation of these blessings, against the intolerable and dangerous doctrines of France, whose Rulers have always been actively planning and ardently executing the overthrow and destruction of every Government in Europe. Mr. Pitt, for a long series of years conducted the concerns of a vast empire. His ministerial career was distinguished by one of the most extraordinary Revolutions which the world ever witnessed or experienced. There was a constant succession

of unexpected and marvellous events; and if in the uncommon fluctuation of human affairs, if in the sudden rise and fall of revolutionary novelties, all human sagacity became useless, all political reasoning idle and unavailing, it was no wonder that Mr. Pitt was at times seriously disappointed. Like all Great Ministers, he was exposed to the extremes of calumny and adulation, of satire and panegyric. While living, he meritoriously gained and laudably preserved the partiality of a very great majority of his Countrymen; and, when the supply of invective is exhausted by Party or by Faction, Mr. Pitt's memory will become more and more precious, and his virtues repose on the records of truth.

The high and palmy State of the British Nation may certainly to every true Patriot be the subject of flattering contemplation. But it ought by no means to induce us to relax from those exertions by which we have achieved this proud pre-eminence. After he has settled his differences with Russia, for it is probable the present hostilities, like those of Eylau, &c. will soon terminate in a pacific arrangement, BONAPARTE will speedily direct his whole operations against this Country. Released from the enormous weight of the engagements in which he is now involved, he will instantly become possessed of a very strong disposeable force. We must therefore be prepared to meet him in all his marches and countermarches, in all his crafty projects and skilful

stratagems. What may we not expect or dread from the restless ambition of such a man, despising the beaten circle of ordinary experience? We should therefore endeavour to baffle his ingenuity by some *New Expedients*. We should perplex him in his favourite theories, and confound him in those rules of practice to which he has always been most partial. We should render his invariable maxims, by the adoption of which he has hitherto succeeded, useless and unavailable. Deprive Bonaparte in the field of the grand effect derivable from *the concentration of his chief forces to bear down on a particular point*, such as the centre, for instance, when he is at the same time forming formidable diversions on the left and right wings of the same army, in order to conceal the main object of his favourite attack, and you become the vanquisher instead of the vanquished—it being always understood, that the forces of the contending armies, are, on a large scale, nearly equal in numbers. *The bisection of this concentrated force*, if practicable—something in the manner of Mr. Clarke's admirable invention for *breaking the line*, by which Rodney, in the first place, and Lord Nelson more recently, gained such immortal honours—would contribute most powerfully to victory. But this suggestion, for the present, may be left to the practical experience and superior judgment of the well-educated soldier. The most accurate mathematical deductions in the closet may

be easily refuted by a skilful practitioner in the field, hostile to novelties or discoveries simple in their nature but very important in their effect. It was by an inflexible, a self-sufficient, a stubborn adherence to old forms and old maxims, which had been completely refuted and exploded by new inventions or improvements in the art of war, that soon laid all the Old Governments on the Continent of Europe prostrate at the feet of the French Government. In all stages of the French Revolution, the Leaders for the time being eagerly encouraged improvements in mlitary science, on which they knew so much depended for the extension and continuance of the power of the Republic. The Old Governments, on the contrary, bigoted to their old rules, and despising for a time new inventions, however useful and scientific, drove several ingenious men and several important discoveries into the arms of France. Hence, in a memorable instance, was lost the introduction to the invention of the *Flying Artillery*, now so universally adopted with the most extraordinary effect; together with some other inventions, the particulars of which are not now necessary to be detailed. When by indefatigable reflection, and after surmounting, perhaps, thousands of mortifying experiments, any new invention has been brought to that state of maturity as to become practically useful, it is in some instances more gratifying to the man of genius to find his invention adopted than

even to receive a pecuniary reward. He would in some cases be perfectly satisfied that his new invention, or favourite child, should be adopted, nursed, and reared or matured, by his own native country, than driven for an asylum to a Foreign Government. An inventor, upon principles of public utility, ought always to receive encouragement according to his merits. Had the invention of Mr. Clarke remained dormant, had it not been put in practice, Great Britain would have been much less successful by sea, and we might have now been obliged to encounter, instead of having annihilated, a formidable French Navy.

But this digression, although not altogether improper, may, perhaps be thought too long. A direct notice of the *New Expedient* alluded to is of course requisite. It is therefore suggested, that SQUADRONS of FLOATING TROOPS would be the most likely to discomfit BONAPARTE's hostile measures against this country; and would, besides, keep his subjects *incessantly on the alert along the coast.* The Troops necessary for such an important service need not exceed 30,000 men. There might remain 10,000, or 15,000 floating in the Channel, hovering on the French Coast, and rendering it doubtful to the Enemy in what particular spot we chose to effect a landing. The Enemy would thus be kept in a state of constant fear and alarm, and a powerful diversion formed against the peace of

the whole French Coast. We might frequently land when we found such a measure safe or advantageous. The other part of these Floating Squadrons might be employed in small detachments, or in a collective body, as might best suit the public emergency. Notwithstanding our prowess by land, our natural strength is in OUR NAVY; and such an addition to our naval force would render us in most views invincible. It might, perhaps, be asked, by what means were we to create this new force? By enlisting or employing in such a service the greater part of the Militia Regiments. Being in a great degree superseded by the Local Militia, the Regular Militia has now become almost useless, and might be rendered very serviceable to the Country, if thus directed in its operations. It is to be hoped, that the time will arrive when ALL OUR TROOPS WILL BE TAUGHT THE SPEED AND FACILITIES OF EMBARKING AND DEBARKING; that in many respects they will at last be formed so as to be enabled to act EITHER AS SAILORS OR SOLDIERS; that they will thus be reckoned a species of *amphibious beings*, rendering it, by practice and by familiarization, doubtful to which element they more properly belong; and that thus our Government may invigorate our arm, and raise the power of Great Britain to that state of superiority so as to bid DEFIANCE TO EVERY KIND OF COMPETITION.

is on many accounts, particularly so far as regards the temper and tone of our Leading Statesmen, of great interest in these critical times. It is a subject intimately connected with the State of the Country, because its result forms the basis of our present Executive Power. The fatal cause of such a Negotiation has been deeply deplored as staining the best features of our national character. No sooner was the Assassination of Mr. PERCEVAL, our late Premier, fully ascertained, than all Parties, whether for or against Administration, were equally eager to express their sentiments of detestation and horror on the commission of such an abominable deed. The surprise and consternation were indeed so unbounded among all ranks, that it was no wonder that the PRINCE REGENT, participating with peculiar sensibility the general feelings, should have allowed some days to elapse, before he could resolve on an effort to repair so great a loss to himself, and so serious a misfortune to the Country!

It may not be amiss, previously to any comment or observations, to give an Abstract of the Correspondence, as authorised by the Parties:——

The Introductory Paper to these Documents states, that "on Friday the 22d of May, His Royal Highness, the PRINCE REGENT, was pleased to command the Marquis

Wellesley to submit to his Royal Highness's consideration the Plan of an Administration properly adapted to the Present Crisis of Affairs:" That his Lordship deemed it necessary, in the first place, to advert to certain practical principles as a basis: That these practical principles might be safely comprised in the two following Propositions, viz.

1st, The immediate Consideration of the Catholic Claims with a view to a Conciliatory Adjustment;

2dly, The Prosecution of the War in the Peninsula on a scale of adequate vigour:

That the Disposition of ALL Parties should be ascertained, by a Communication with the Principal Persons connected: "That in these Communications, Lord Wellesley was *particularly cautious to explain*, that he had received *no authority* from His Royal Highness to form an Administration, nor to communicate with any particular Party or Description of Persons; but that His Royal Highness had been apprised of the necessity of Lord Wellesley's holding such intercourse with ALL Parties as might enable him to prepare a Plan for His Royal Highness's approbation:" That Lord Wellesley requested Mr. Canning to communicate them to Lord Liverpool: That Lord Wellesley himself had resolved to make the Communication to Lords Grey and Grenville: That his Lordship communicated also with Lord Moira, and verbally with Lord Erskine and Mr. Sheridan, who all concurred in the principles: That Lord Wellesley received Letters from Lords Lansdowne and Holland on the subject: That, on Sunday the 24th of May, all these Documents were submitted to the PRINCE REGENT, together with a Report of the Proceedings: That as Lord Wellesley was apprised by a Communication from Lord Melville to Mr. Canning, that the Powers granted to Lord Wellesley, on the 22d of May, by the PRINCE REGENT, were considered to be at an end, Lord Wellesley communicated the same to Lords Grey and Grenville: That, on the 1st of June, the PRINCE REGENT granted to Lord Wellesley full authority to form an Administration under His Royal Highness's commands: That, on the 3d of June, Lord Wellesley resigned into the hands of His Royal Highness the authority which His Royal Highness had entrusted to him on the 1st of June: That Lord Moira was authorised, on the evening of the 5th of June, to address himself to Lords Grey and Grenville on the subject: That on the 8th of June Lord Moira resigned

the Commission with which he had been entrusted by the PRINCE REGENT: And that on the same day, all the other attempts having failed, the Earl of Liverpool was appointed First Commissioner of the Treasury.

For the better understanding of these Documents, some Extracts may be necessary. In the "Minute of a Communication made by Lord Wellesley to Lords Grey and Grenville, at Lord Grey's House, May 23, 1812," Lord Wellesley states—

"That he considered himself merely as the instrument of executing His Royal Highness's commands on the occasion; and that he *neither claimed nor desired for himself* any situation in the Administration which it was in His Royal Highness's contemplation to form." Under these circumstances, he requested to know, whether any obstacle existed to the concurrence of Lords Grey and Grenville to the following Basis on which an Administration might be formed?

"1, That the State of the Laws affecting the Roman "Catholics, and the Claims of that Body of His Majesty's "Subjects, should be taken into immediate consideration, with "a view to a Conciliatory Adjustment of those Claims.

"2, That the War in the Peninsula should be prosecuted "on a scale of adequate vigour."

"Lord Wellesley stated, that as Mr. Canning and he agreed in these principles, he had requested Mr. Canning to communicate them to Lord Liverpool."

Lord Liverpool, in a Letter to Mr. Canning, dated Fife House, May 23, writes thus:—

"Dear Canning,

"I have communicated to my Colleagues the Memorandum which I received from you this afternoon.

"They do not think it necessary to enter into any discussion of the principles stated in that Memorandum, because they ALL FEEL THEMSELVES BOUND—*particularly after what has recently passed*—to DECLINE the PROPOSAL of becoming Members of an Administration to be formed by Lord Wellesley. (signed) LIVERPOOL."

Lord Melville in a Letter to Mr. Canning, dated May 23, expresses his "strong repugnance, or rather his decided objection, to join an Administration of which Lord Wellesley was to be the head;" that he had no objection, however, to act with an Administration on the two principles mentioned; but thought "it improbable that any consideration which Government can give the subject of the Restrictions on the Roman Catholics, will enable it to propose such a system as will wholly satisfy their claims, and at the same time afford that degree of Security to the Protestant Establishment which is generally felt to be necessary."

Lord Moira, in answer to Lord Wellesley, May 23, approves of "the two points of policy, which he had long thought the most urgent for the benefit of the Country." His Lordship, however, wished to be clearly understood, that such an approval "was not conveying any implication of engagement to accept office. This is not mentioned from the remotest regard to the possible distribution of situations. Nor does it involve objections to any individual, as there is nothing I should so much deprecate, in the present state of Public Affairs, as a spirit of exclusion."

Lords Grey and Grenville, in their Memorandum of the 24th of May, commence their Reply to Lord Wellesley in these words:—

"In such a moment as the present, we feel it to be the duty of all public men, both by frank and conciliatory explanations of principle, and by the total abandonment of every personal object, to facilitate," &c. Their Lordships approve of the first point laid down as a basis; but as to the second, the Prosecution of the War in the Peninsula, it was on many accounts a question not of principle but of policy, to be regulated by circumstances, without too great a pressure on the finances and internal prosperity of the country; and, in the present state of the finances, their Lordships entertained the strongest doubts of the practicability of an increase in any branch of the Public Expenditure.

On Wednesday, May 27, Lord Melville called upon Mr. Canning, and informed him, "*That Lord Wellesley's Commission is considered by the* PRINCE REGENT *as at an end.*" Thus terminated Lord Wellesley's *first* Commission.

In a Minute of Communication made by Lord Wellesley to Lord Grey, at Lord Grey's house, June 1, 1812,—

"Lord Wellesley stated, that he had, on that morning, received full authority from the PRINCE REGENT to form an Administration under His Royal Highness's commands; and that he was specially authorised to communicate with Lords Grey and Grenville on the subject;" This commences Lord Wellesley's *second* Commission. The Minute farther states,

"That His Royal Highness entertained *no wish to exclude from the proposed Administration any person, or description of persons*, who could unite in the principles on which the Administration was to be founded."

"That His Royal Highness had signified his pleasure, that *Lord Wellesley should conduct the formation of the Administration* IN ALL ITS BRANCHES, and should be *First Commissioner of the Treasury*; and that Lord Moira, Lord Erskine, and Mr. Canning, should be Members of the Cabinet."

"That the PRINCE REGENT wished Lords Grey and Grenville, on the part of their friends, to recommend for His Royal Highness's approbation the names of *four* persons, if the Cabinet should consist of twelve; and of *five* persons, if the Cabinet should consist of thirteen; to be appointed by His Royal Highness to fill such stations in his Councils as might hereafter be arranged."

In the Reply of Lords Grey and Grenville, June 3, their Lordships complain that they are not invited by Lord Wellesley to discuss measures and arrangements "belonging to a new Government in all its branches, but to recommend to His Royal Highness a number, limited by previous stipulation, of persons willing to be included in a Cabinet, of which the outlines are already definitively arranged. To this Proposal we could not accede, without the sacrifice of the very object which the House of Commons has recommended, the formation of a strong and efficient Administration." Again, "It is to the principle of disunion and jealousy that we object. To the supposed balance of contending interests in a Cabinet, so measured out by preliminary stipulations." "This project appears new in practice and objectionable in principle. It tends, as we think, to establish within the Cabinet itself a system of *counteraction*, inconsistent with the prosecution of any uniform and beneficial course of policy. We must therefore request permission to *decline all participation* in a government constituted upon such principles."

Lord Moira, in an Explanatory Letter to Lord Grey,

June 3, on the subject of Lord Wellesley's Minute, states, that "the Answer which you and Lord Grenville have returned to the Proposal made by Lord Wellesley seems to throw an oblique imputation upon me; therefore *I entreat your re-consideration* of your statement, as far as it may convey an impeachment of a procedure in which I was involved. You represent the Proposition for an Arrangement submitted to you as one calculated to found a Cabinet upon a principle of *counteraction*. When the most material of the public objects which were to be the immediate ground of that Cabinet's exertions, had been previously understood between the Parties, I own it is difficult for me to comprehend what principle of *counteraction* could be introduced." Lord Moira continues thus—"With regard to the indication of *certain individuals*, I can assert, that it was a measure adopted through the highest spirit and fairness to you and to your friends." His Lordship, adds—"Lord Erskine's and mine (names) were stated with a view of showing that Lord Wellesley, so far from having any jealousy to maintain a preponderance in the Cabinet, *actually left a majority to those who had been accustomed to concur upon most public questions*; and he specified Lord *Erskine* and *myself*, that you might see the number submitted for your exclusive nomination was not narrowed by the necessity of advertence to us." Lord Moira concludes—"the expression that this was left to be proposed by Lord Wellesley, was intended to prove that His Royal Highness *did not*, even in the most indirect manner, suggest any one of those individuals." And his Lordship most deeply laments, "that an arrangement, so important for the interests of the country, should *go off upon points which I cannot but think wide of the substance of the case.*"

Lord Grey's Reply, (June 4,) to Lord Moira's Letter, most honourably acquits the latter in every respect. Lord Grey assures Lord Moira, that "*nothing, therefore, could be more remote from my intention*, and I am desired by Lord Grenville, to whom I have shewn your Letter, to give you the same assurance on his part, *than to cast any imputation whatever on you*, as to the part you have borne in the proceedings which have lately taken place, for the formation of a New Administration. *We know how sincere an anxiety for the* HONOUR of the PRINCE *and for the* PUBLIC INTERESTS, *you have laboured to effect that object.*"

Lord Wellesley's Reply (June 3), to the Letter from Lords Grey and Grenville, expresses the painful duty which Lord W. had in submitting their Lordships' Letter to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent; and adds, that his Lordship had *resigned his Commission.*——Thus terminated Lord Wellesley's *second and last* attempt to form his New Administration.

Lord Moira, on the 5th of June, with a laudable solicitude for the reconcilement of all the Great and Leading Characters, and with the most friendly feelings to their Lordships, writes thus to Lords Grey and Grenville—"Since Lord Wellesley has declared his Commission from the Prince Regent to be at an end, Lord Moira (as being honoured with his Highness's confidence) ventures to indulge the anxiety he feels, that an arrangement of the utmost importance for the interests of the Country should not go off on any misunderstanding. He therefore *intreats* Lords Grey and Grenville to advert to the *Explanatory Letter* of the 3d of June, written by him to the former. And if the dispositions therein expressed shall appear to them likely to lead, upon conference, to any advantageous result towards *a co-operation in the Prince's Service*, he will be happy to have an interview with them. Should the issue of that conversation prove such as he would hope, his object would be *to solicit the* PRINCE REGENT'S *permission to address them formally.*" "N. B. This was written in the presence of the Duke of Bedford, in consequence of a conversation with his Grace, and was by him carried to Lord Grey."

On Lords Grey and Grenville stating, (June 5), in answer to Lord Moira, "That no advantage is likely to result from pursuing this subject by unauthorised discussions, and a course different from the usual practice,"

Lord Moira, on the 6th of June, informed Lords Grey and Grenville, that "he has now the PRINCE REGENT'S Instruction to take steps towards the formation of a Ministry; and is authorised especially to address himself to Lords Grey and Grenville. It is therefore his request to know, when and where he can wait upon them. He would wish to bring Lord Erskine with him."

The Minute of a Conversation between Lord Moira, and Lords Grey and Grenville, at which Lord Erskine was present, expresses satisfaction "that Lord Moira had received his COMMISSION WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION OR LIMITATION WHATEVER being laid by the Prince on their

considering any points which they judged useful for his service;" and afterwards immediately asks—

"*Whether this full liberty extended to the consideration of new appointments to those great* OFFICES *of the* HOUSEHOLD, which have been usually included in the political arrangements made on a change of Administration, intimating their opinion, that it would be necessary to act on the same principle on the present occasion?

"Lord Moira answered, that the *Prince had laid no restriction upon him in that respect*, and had never pointed, in the most distant manner, at the protection of *those Offices* from removal; that it would be impossible for him (Lord Moira) however, to concur in making the exercise of this power positive and indispensable, in the formation of the Administration, because he should deem it, on public grounds, peculiarly objectionable."

To this Lords Grey and Grenville replied, "that on these grounds it appeared to them indispensable, that the connection of the Great Offices of the Court, with the political administration, should be clearly established in its first arrangements. A decided difference of opinion as to this point having been thus expressed on both sides, the conversation ended here, with mutual declarations of regret," and was never attempted to be renewed afterwards.—*Thus terminated Lord Moira's best and most anxious endeavours, at this time, to form a New Ministry.*

The preceding Abstract, impartially selected from the Original Documents, is indispensably necessary, in order to afford the reader a proper ground of observation and decision. He will please to bear in his mind, that there are five Parties concerned in the Negotiation, viz. the Prince Regent, the Marquis of Wellesley, the Earl of Moira, Lords Grey and Grenville, and Lord Liverpool and his Colleagues in office. It appears that His Royal Highness, after honouring the two particular Noblemen, at distinct and separate periods, with his commands, left each individual to con-

duct himself independently in the progress of the Negotiation as his own judgment directed. Both Lord Wellesley, in the first place, and Lord Moira in the second, candidly avow, that their respective and separate commissions towards the formation of a New Ministry were *free and unbiassed*; that they were embarrassed by *no restrictions;* and that "His Royal Highness entertained *no wish to exclude* from the proposed Administration *any person or description of persons.*"

With regard to Lord Liverpool and his Colleagues, they were open and ingenuous at the very commencement of the Negotiation. When invited to unite for a New Ministry, *they instantly declined having any thing to do in any Administration to be formed by Lord* WELLESLEY. Thus far Lord Liverpool and his Friends excluded themselves; and their reasons, after the most mature deliberation, were perfectly satisfactory to their own minds; so that they may be said to have completely withdrawn themselves during the whole of the two Negotiations, merely holding their official situations till their Successors were appointed. Such a candid declaration on the part of those very men who had a few months before been the Co-adjutors of Lord Wellesley, proves the serious consequences of the rash and imprudent publication of his Lordship's Statement against Mr. Perceval, made on the very instant after the Premier's diabolical Assassi-

nation. But why not have sanctioned the publicity of such a Statement in the life-time of Mr. Perceval? Why bring it forward immediately after the detestable deed, when Mr. Perceval, the person accused, was, by the hand of the murderer, deprived of the opportunity of vindicating himself? As that extraordinary Paper not only detracted from the talents and conduct of Mr. Perceval, by affirming that his powers were adapted for *inferior* situations only, but of course detracted from the united talents of all those with whom his Lordship had very lately acted, his credulity must have been great, indeed, to have entertained the smallest hopes of success from any offer in such a quarter. To the Noble Marquis's invitation for the forming a part of a New Ministry, they therefore gave at once a calm, a dispassionate, and a dignified negative, its effect being more mortifying from its proud and stately colouring, than had it spoken the language of remonstrance or anger, of envy or disappointment. Ministers felt and expressed themselves as men indignant for an attack which they conceived the most ungenerous at the time against the murdered Mr. Perceval, and for implications the most unwarrantable against the whole Administration who had served under him.

From an impartial examination of the Documents respecting the Negotiation, it is very evident, that the PRINCE REGENT, in his commands

to Lord Wellesley, left his Lordship to form what Administration appeared "properly adapted to the present crisis." Lord Wellesley's political knowledge is various and extensive; and although the present Administration possess great talents and public influence, yet the co-operation of his Lordship would certainly tend to give additional strength and effect to a Party of which he has been an ornament. The Nation, especially in these times, would be highly pleased by such an accession of ministerial power. But as a designer or founder of a New Administration, "calculated to meet the actual exigencies of the country," his Lordship's Plan was undoubtedly immature and defective in principle. Neither judicious nor discriminating in his policy, his Lordship produced a scheme too obviously weak for the purposes of a British Government. To form an Administration from "the principal persons of ALL Parties," was a project wild in theory and incompatible with practice. There is, however, one kind of utility deriveable from projecting such a system: It fully confirms the truth, propriety, and wisdom, of the proverb—"*Open to* ALL *Parties, and influenced by* NONE!" It was an Administration upon such inefficient principles, as by attending to every contradictory opinion, they would be unable to resolve finally upon any opinion at all; an Administration upon such a hodge-podge or contributive plan, in matter and in manner, as

one of those measures likely to receive their strongest approbation—unless, as they pretended, there was "the prospect of ultimate success!" But, with all due deference to their Lordships, how was that prospect to be ascertained but by the continued efforts and increased energies of our brave troops? It therefore became absolutely necessary either to extend our scale of operations, or to withdraw our forces entirely from the Peninsula. We could not pursue a middle course, and, by weak and languid measures, entertain any hopes of ultimate success, But perhaps a medium might have been adopted between too extravagant efforts on the one hand, and too limited on the other. The majority of our Nation would certainly much sooner defray the extravagant or enlarged scale of operations, because, under such a General as Lord Wellington, there would be much greater cause to hope for ultimate success, than on a narrow or a contracted scale.

So far, therefore, Lord Wellesley acted with a becoming spirit, independently of that partiality to his Brother which is generally inherent in the human breast; and so far were Lords Grey and Grenville to blame for insinuating, that the scale of operations ought not to be enlarged. Besides, a reduction of our means of warfare in the Peninsula was a policy not likely to meet with the PRINCE REGENT's approbation, as he had laudably pledged himself and

the Nation, that the means of conducting the war should be increased rather than diminished. In the absence of Bonaparte in Russia, where he has already been promised much more employment than he at first expected, an excellent opportunity presented itself for extending our operations with every prospect of ultimate success. It would therefore have been very improper, and very unmanly, to have reduced or crippled our means, when, if neglected, it was evident, that no such opportunity could afterwards be expected. But Lord Grey, who is now said to despise popular opinion, may in this instance have chosen to prefer the maintenance of an obnoxious speculative principle, with the total abandonment of practical benefit, rather than by any change of conduct, acknowledge the various errors of his predictions, so often and so loudly reverberated through the medium of his doleful speeches in Parliament.

Although the Peninsular War was a subject on which the three Noble Lords were never likely to agree, yet the progress of this Negotiation still seemed sweet and smooth to the Contracting Parties. Lords Grey and Grenville had every reason to expect, that not only the Premiership, but the chief influence and uncontrouled management of Public Affairs, would at last be consigned to them; and all apprehensions of a contrary nature were totally removed by the following declaration of the Noble Marquis, in his Minute

of Communication with Lords Grey and Grenville, on the 23 of May last:

"That he (Lord Wellesley) considered himself merely as the instrument of executing His Royal Highness's commands on this occasion; and that *he neither claimed nor desired for himself any station in the Administration* which it was in His Royal Highness's contemplation to form."

This particular declaration was a species of self-denial which appeared highly gratifying to the Opposition Lords; and it is very evident, that had not these two Noble Lords been fully impressed with an idea, that Lord Wellesley meant some second or third rate situation for himself only, if any at all—but at all events neither the Premiership, nor the controul in the management of Public Affairs—they would have given his Lordship at once a refusal *in limine*. What must therefore have been their Lordships' surprise when on the 1st of June Lord Wellesley informed them, that

"he had that morning received full authority from the PRINCE REGENT to form an Administration; that he was specially authorised to communicate with Lords Grey and Grenville on the subject; and that *Lord Wellesley was to conduct the Administration—in all its branches—and should be* FIRST COMMISSIONER *of the* TREASURY!!!"

Now the common proverb was fulfilled—"the cat was let out o'the bag"—and their Lordships were allowed to chace it as long or as short a time as they pleased. Lord Wellesley was not only to be at the *Head* of *Administration*, but to have the full *controul* in the *management* of

Public Affairs, because his Lordship was to "conduct the formation of the Administration *in all its branches!*" With regard to the settled arrangement, at the same time, "that Lord Moira, Lord Erskine, and Mr. Canning, should be Members of the Cabinet," although that proved at once that Lord Wellesley had assumed the full reins of power, it being a testimony of his authority, yet such an arrangement was but of a minor consideration when compared with the office of *First Lord of the Treasury*, and the indisputable management and direction of Public Affairs!

The two Noble Lords, at the head of a great and a numerous Party in Parliament, with a crowd of Friends and Dependants to oblige and satisfy, could never consent to sink thus their diminished heads, by tamely yielding to such an unexpected arrangement. It was altogether unwarranted by Lords Grey and Grenville; and, as they had understood, that not only the office of *First Lord of the Treasury*, but the offices *in the other leading departments*, were to be subjects of future discussion and arrangement, including also the various *Seats* in the *Cabinet*, they could not help betraying symptoms of the utmost astonishment on the communication of the Noble Lord's unlooked-for declaration. As it might, however, be somewhat indecorous to demonstrate instantly their feelings on the occasion, those sparks of indignation and

disappointment, which threatened to spread soon into a flame, were for the time smothered, but not extinguished. It was also thought politic, that some other excuse should be assigned than the division or distribution of places, for declining any concern in such an arrangement—an arrangement which would be disgraceful to their Lordships, and lower the influence of the Party in the eyes both of Parliament and the Public. Lords Grey and Grenville, therefore, in their Reply to Lord Wellelley's Minute of the 3d of June, when he wounded their feelings by announcing himself to them in his new character of *Premier*, their Lord and Master, after acknowledging, "that the times imperiously require an Administration united in principle and strong in mutual reliance," state, that

"no such hope is presented to us by this Project, which appears to us equally *new in practice*, and *objectionable in principle*. It tends, as we think, to establish WITHIN THE CABINET ITSELF A SYSTEM OF COUNTERACTION inconsistent with the prosecution of any uniform and beneficial course of policy!"

"A Project equally *new in practice*, and *objectionable in principle*," might be considered, in the progressive swell of a climax of complaints, as the one-half of the figure or delineation of remonstrance; but when it mentioned and included the words *Counteraction in the Cabinet*, it became instantly raised to the top of its mea-

sure. "COUNTERACTION," therefore—together with what Lords Grey and Grenville predicted, "*the certain loss of character*"—put an end at once to Lord Wellesley's golden dreams of an Administration "OPEN TO ALL PARTIES," and under the immediate controul and direction of his Lordship! That the Leaders of what is termed the Whig Party would have experienced the effects of a self-evident truth by such a Coalition—"the *certain loss* of *character*"—cannot be denied; but the apprehension of COUNTERACTION in the Cabinet was made the stalking-horse of an excuse for declining any concern whatever in an Administration of which Lords Grey and Grenville were not to be the Leaders.

It was weak and idle in Lord Wellesley to attempt any Coalition with these two Noble Lords by believing that he could throw them in the back ground; on such vague principles, he could with propriety neither indulge vanity nor gratify pride. How could he suppose that Statesmen of such official experience, and the heads of a very powerful Party, would allow themselves to be deposed from their Parliamentary Throne, and sunk into the ranks of his Lordship's mere automatants or mandarines? It was absurd, if not ridiculous, for Lord Wellesley to suppose, that these Noblemen would in any Administration yield the *Premiership*, with all its important appendages, to his Lordship. All the arguments

therefore, of Lord Moira against the apprehended system of COUNTERACTION in the Cabinet weighed with their Lordships as a feather in the scale: The plain interpretation of their language was —" give us the *Premiership!* Give us the *Chief Arrangements!* or give us nothing.——We can listen to no compromise.——*Whitbread* is out of temper; *Ponsonby* waxeth warm; and *Tierney* threatens to desert!"

Had Lord Wellesley been contented with the office of a Secretary of State, and resigned to the Opposition Lords the management and direction of Public Affairs, there would have been some chance of success in the object of his Negotiation for a New Ministry. Every effort, however, to induce these proud Noblemen to acknowledge Lord Wellesley as Premier was altogether hopeless; and his Lordship is evidently destitute of the chief qualities requisite for such a delicacy of existing circumstances. His Statement against Mr. Perceval, circulated, as was confessed, among his Lordship's private friends only—abating the unpardonable notoriety of its unseasonable publication—betrays puerile spleen and unmanly intemperance in an uncommon degree. As the Minister of a Great Empire, he wants that suavity of manners, that dexterity of address, which, (as a great man once said) by placing opposite parties against each other, may mould them both to his own purposes or those of the State. His

Plan for a New Administration, by a combination of ALL PARTIES, was a wild and an eccentric attempt to amalgamate things repulsive and inadhesive to each other. But supposing his Lordship had been successful—supposing he had been in complete possession of his object—he wanted an extent of genius, a sufficient knowledge of the springs of such a complex piece of mechanism, as the Cabinet which he had in contemplation, to regulate its movements and to ensure their co-operations.

Lord Wellesley's endeavours for the formation of a New Ministry, on the principles already described, having failed, Lord Moira, whose liberality of sentiments, and whose ardent zeal for the honour of the PRINCE REGENT, and for the welfare of the country, are universally acknowledged, anxiously feeling that an arrangement for the interest of the Public "should not go off on any misunderstanding," intreated that Lords Grey and Grenville would indulge him with a conference on a subject of such vast importance, as

"he (Lord M.) has now (June 6) the PRINCE REGENT'S Instructions to take steps towards the formation of a Ministry; and is authorised specially to address himself to Lords Grey and Grenville." And in the Minute of Conversation between Lord Moira, and Lords Grey and Grenville, at which Lord Erskine was present, (dated St. James's Place, June 6), assurances were given, "*that Lord Moira had received this (his) commission* WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION OR LIMITATION WHATEVER."

After satisfactory explanations upon other

subjects connected with the formation of the intended Ministry, Lords Grey and Grenville put to Lord Moira a preliminary question, which appeared to them of great importance"—

"*Whether this full liberty extended to the consideration of new appointments to those great offices of the Household,*" &c. &c.

Lord Moira answered—"that *the Prince had laid no restrictions upon him in that respect*, and had never pointed, in the most distant manner, at the protection of those Officers from removal; that it would be impossible for him (Lord Moira), however, to concur in making the exercise of this power positive and indispensable, in the formation of the Administration, because he should deem it, on public grounds, peculiarly objectionable."

Lords Grey and Grenville, not fully recovered from the political paroxism into which the arrogant ambition of Lord Wellesley had thrown them, replied, that they acted also on public grounds; and warmly maintaining, that without the command of these appointments the Government could not be properly conducted, as there must be a connection between the Great Offices of the Court and the Political Administration of the Country, "the Conversation ended with mutual declarations of regret!" And thus also ended all efforts to form a New Ministry, agreeably to the Address of the House of Commons to His Royal Highness the PRINCE REGENT.

If in the failure of the Negotiation by Lord Wellesley some regret was expressed, as every kind of delay was productive of much inconvenience to public business, disappointment from the last

effort of Lord Moira was much more the cause of regret and indignation among most ranks. Men unconnected with Party Interest could admit an excuse for the two Noble Personages declining a Coalition with Lord Wellesley, as the arrangement of the latter went to deprive the former of all political authority whatever; but in the Negotiation with Lord Moira, FREE FROM ANY RESTRICTIONS, there was not a shadow of excuse, unless an objection to the removal of those Distinguished Characters occupying the Great Offices of the Household could be construed into that meaning. There is such an unaccountable violation of decency and decorum in their persistance for the power of removing these Officers, that it would seem as if some personal antipathy were rankling in the heart of one of the two Noble Lords against the Marquis of Hertford, Lord Yarmouth, or the other Officers of the Household. It is true that the Marquis of Hertford, for what reasons cannot be ascertained, was removed some few years ago (as Master of the Horse) when the Opposition were in power. His Lordship, by a steady adherence to the interest of his King and Country in certain proceedings of Parliament, had given offence, it is reported, to some Opposition Lords, and therefore was doomed a victim of vengeance. But why the like personal antipathy should continue to be pursued, when the same Nobleman and his Son were selected by the

PRINCE REGENT as his Lord Chamberlain and Vice Chamberlain, is a question which can be best answered by the Opposition Leaders themselves. This peremptory and ungracious demand cannot surely arise from any wish to wound the feelings of the PRINCE REGENT, by depriving His Royal Highness of any power in the appointment of his own Household. If any of the Great Officers of the Household have exercised undue authority towards the obstruction of the political part of Administration, why not name that person who has thus betrayed his trust? But why attempt to stigmatize any Officer of the Household with "*a Parliamentary Brand!*" "*a Signal Mark!*" as menaced by Lord Grey in his speech on the 19th of March last? Why endeavour, as some of the Trumpeters of Opposition announced, "to humiliate" the PRINCE REGENT, by reducing him to that state of Opposition Vassalage and Tyranny, as to have their own Dependents or Servants forced upon His Royal Highness, in the place of those whom he has already appointed and approved? The proud and domineering Lord Grey, who is apt to make petty conflicts from petty causes, cannot surely object to the Hertford Family, because it is not, like his own, the upstart of yesterday, the mushroom of the hour.* His jaundiced eyes cannot surely be offended with a long

* Lord Yarmouth has within these few weeks resigned, having been appointed Lord Steward of the Stannaries of Cornwall.

line of illustrious ancestors, frequently marrying and intermarrying with Branches of the Royal Family, instead of serving as Master of the Horse, Lord Chamberlain, or Vice Chamberlain. Not that it is here meant to be insinuated, that very great praise is not due to the Founder of a Family, or to the First or Second Personage of an Illustrious Race; but there can be no disgrace attached to a Nobleman for being able to refer to a long list of ancestors, always connected with some of the first families in England, and often renowned in arms, and distinguished for profound learning and science. The present Marquis, besides his various virtues, is known to possess the best qualities of a classical and a philosophical mind, reflecting much honour on the instructions of his celebrated Tutor, one of the first Historians and Philosophers of the age in which he lived.

Although mere birth is an accidental circumstance, of which no wise man can on consideration be particularly proud, yet to some men it is more gratifying to be enabled to trace a long line and an intricate pedigree, with all the various ramifications of the Family, than to have defeated or taken Massena, Marmont, Suchet, or the most favourite of Bonaparte's Generals in the Peninsula. To gratify, therefore, the vanity of some of Lord Grey's gossipping grandmamas, if any there be, and to reconcile his Lordship to the Family of *Hertford*, it is hum-

bly requested, that his Lordship will condescend to recollect, that *Katherine Grey*, second daughter of Frances Duchess of Suffolk, (a Queen of France, and daughter of Henry VII. of England) by *Henry Grey*, Marquis of Dorset, (afterwards created Duke of Suffolk) was married to *Edward Seymour*, then Earl of *Hertford;* and that as there may be a chance, that is the chance of birth, that even the present Lord Grey may be descended from this illustrious stock, his Lordship may of course be a cousin (in a distant degree) to the Marquis of Hertford, and ought therefore, from an inherent principle of propinquity, to have a partiality, a family feeling, for all his Noble Relations. But let this fact have what operation it may on Lord Grey's mind, it is truly ridiculous to hear of his Lordship attempting to excuse himself upon "public grounds" for declining to accept the handsome offer of Lord Moira, *free* and *unrestrained*. It was not, however, upon "public grounds," or upon "public principles," that the two Noble Lords declined to aid Lord Moira in the formation of a New Ministry—a formation to be cut and carved, and fashioned, as their Lordships' own superior taste in such affairs should direct. No; that was not the real cause. It was because they could not command the appointments of the three Great Officers of the PRINCE REGENT's Household, *viz.*—"the *Three Sticks!*" as Mr. Sheridan very laughably called them, and which

"*Three Sticks*" he several times metaphorically broke upon the heads of his Noble Friends. It was not a war upon "public principles" which the Noble Lords waged. It was a war against the *Three Sticks!* An implacable and an interminable war against the Marquis of Hertford! What was the Peninsular War to the war against the Hertford Family? What the Battle of Talavera to the Battle for the Lord Chamberlain's Office? What the Glories of Badajoz or Ciudad Rodrigo when compared with the charming Cheese Parings and delightful Candle Ends of the Household?

Through whatever medium the last Negotiation is viewed, the greatest ingenuity cannot devise an apology for the two Noble Lords refusing to form an Administration for the service of the PRINCE REGENT and the Country. The important arrangements were left entirely to their Lordships, Lord Moira soliciting offices neither for himself nor Friends. There was NO RESTRICTION OR EXCLUSION WHATEVER;—and the Premiership—the Question respecting the Roman Catholic Claims—the farther prosecution of the War in the Peninsula—*all left at their Lordships' sole and uncontrouled disposal.* The Seats in the Cabinet were also devoted to their arrangement: so that, in short, there did not appear to remain any cause for remonstrance or complaint. The objection to their peremptory demand for the removal of the Great Officers of the Household was an act arising from Lord Moira's own generous

feelings in favour of his Royal Master, whom he could not suffer to be degraded by his Lordship's consent to those Noblemen's *sine qua non*. It was no act of the PRINCE REGENT—for when from delicacy a hope was expressed that no Party would trench upon the Household, some entertaining apprehensions from the well-known antipathies of the Opposition Leaders to particular persons, His Royal Highness, with the affable temper and dignified ingenuousness which he is known to possess, accompanied by an impatient anxiety to gratify the wishes of the House of Commons, exclaimed—

"LET THEM TAKE THE WHOLE OF IT (THE HOUSEHOLD), *from the highest to the lowest. No sacrifice on my part will cost me a moment's uneasiness*, IF IT ENABLE ME TO FULFIL A PUBLIC DUTY; *and I have every reason to believe, that those who are personally attached to me will value it as little.*"

——In such an emergency, no sentiments could be more magnanimous. With a wisdom and a greatness truly laudable, the PRINCE REGENT sunk in oblivion his own private wrongs for the sake of the public good. It seems a happy peculiarity of his royal nature to soften the zeal of political innovators by lenity and liberty; and, from these demonstrations of public conduct, his Countrymen may rest satisfied, that His Royal Highness will hold the reins of empire with prudence and fortitude.

If the PRINCE REGENT, from the general amenity of his disposition, condescended to quiet

the minds of the Opposition Lords by disclaiming all restrictions or exclusions in their adjustment of a New Administration—leaving to them the sole and uncontrouled arrangement in every branch of the Government—their Lordships ought not to have conjured up such a fancied obstacle as that of the *Household!* But their Lordships hoped to stumble upon some block at the very commencement of the Negotiation with Lord Moira; and if no block came in their way, they were resolved to find one, over which they might stumble as soon as it suited them. This apparent determination of their Lordships recals to remembrance the memorable speech of Mr. Sheridan also, when their Lordships last resigned their official situation, and thus put an end to their Administration and authority. Censuring their Lordships' peevish and fretful conduct to His MAJESTY, Mr. Sheridan ludicrously observed, "that he had frequently heard of men running their heads accidentally against a wall; but, till now, he never heard of men who built a wall merely for the purpose of running their heads against!!!" — N. B. When the *Party Wall* is about to sink or be forgotten, it may be easily propped up or revived by the *Three Sticks!*

Why shew Lord Moira such distrust as widely to differ from him on the very opening of the Negotiation? Had his Lordship on any occasion forfeited the confidence reposed in him by their Lordships? Was his friendship or his honour of so

doubtful a cast as to render any Negotiation with him unstable or precarious? No. His Lordship came fully prepared with every power and authority from the PRINCE REGENT. Their Lordships, therefore, had only to fix an immediate plan for the formation of a New Ministry, when they might distribute all the various places, the loaves and fishes of office, as they thought proper. At all events, they had no cause of distrusting Lord Moira. His Lordship came sanctioned and fortified by his own Noble Character. They could not surely believe but that in an affair of such vast importance, his Lordship's honour was a sufficient pledge to pin their faith upon. What an Eminent Wit and a Noble Author said, when drawing the Character of a Distinguished Peer, may with much propriety be applied to Lord Moira, who, even in the bustle and confusion of a camp, cultivated the shining and solid parts of a Gentleman and a Scholar. He has, in the highest degree, the air, manners, and address, of a Man of Quality: politeness with ease, and dignity without pride. "He speaks so unaffectedly the honest dictates of his heart, that truth and virtue, which never want, and seldom wear, ornaments, seem only to borrow his voice." The lines of the Poet, descriptive of his honourable and benevolent sensibility, may be thus altered—

> When I confess there is who feels for fame,
> And melts to goodness, need I MOIRA name?

from the preceding Sketch, may be much more easily ascertained than if no Documents of the nature described had been the subject of discussion. In times so critical and perilous, it is certainly of infinite importance to know the Character and Conduct of those Men who from birth, talents, or connections, have been destined to direct the Public Affairs of a Country whose renowned efforts have interrupted the progress, and checked the ambition, of an avowed Enemy to every government—excepting that which he himself chuses to sanction or to dictate. The melancholy retrospect of fallen nations, swept of their political weight from the Map of Europe, affords no consolation to timid or languid indifference, about to resign itself to similar inflictions of subjugation. In such a perturbed state of society, it is more becoming the dignity of man to cherish a spirit of resistance to the encroachments of a foreign yoke, than tamely to surrender the rights and privileges which are inherent in human nature. From incidental causes which it would be difficult to trace, it sometimes happens, that despondency and despair form a union to frighten men from their post, and to shake them from their duty; but the brave man, despising such dastardly emotions, as the peculiar characteristics of abject cowards, holds his head erect, not regardless but ready to repel the impending blow. In this bold and manly pos-

ture stand the ENGLISH NATION, jealous of their liberties, and able and willing to aid all those who think themselves worthy of such blessings. If we have given proofs of generosity and valour equal to the most illustrious times, and stript the Enemy of his proudest laurels—if we have infused a similar spirit into the hearts of our Peninsular Allies, and been the glorious means of saving them from the conquest and subjugation of their French invaders — if when that portion of the inhabitants of Europe which still remained unsubdued were trembling in despair, we aroused and animated them to follow our example—it is without doubt highly interesting to present, as far as such a hasty production will admit, the prominent features of those Distinguished Personages by whom such Councils were chiefly affected. As from the nature of our Constitution, every enterprise of moment becomes the subject of Parliamentary Investigation, it is obvious, that the remainder of this Plan must imply a View of the Leaders of our Political Parties.

The Members of the PRESENT OPPOSITION can muster in either House a formidable phalanx to arrange and marshal for the contest of debate. As a Party within doors, they are more numerous in votes and in talents than any Opposition which has attracted the attention of the Public for a series of years. In the House of Lords, their numbers are greater than even in the days of Mr. Fox—unless at a time when the lat-

ter was Minister. In the House of Commons, in proportion to the numbers of such an assembly, they are less powerful, whether viewed through the medium of active speakers or mere voters. They have, however, so far a family-likeness, that certain features run through the whole Partizans, that is to say, whatever differences they may have without doors, they are unanimous in opposing and condemning Ministers within. Their Chief Leaders in the House of Peers, are Lords Grenville and Grey *; those in the House of Commons, Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Ponsonby. But in both places of action, there is a long list of subordinate auxiliaries, ready for any enterprise, for skirmishing parties, petty conflicts, riflemen or besiegers of the Treasury.

Lord GRENVILLE is a very clear and a very intelligent speaker. Although sufficiently logical in his discussions, and capable of the rich diffusions of eloquence, he is, like all great orators, sparing of ornament. Appealing rather to the understanding than to the passions, his Lordship is perspicuous without tediousness, and precise without embarrassment. Having long acted a conspicuous part in Mr. Pitt's Administration, he is

* Pardon, however, ought here to be asked for the audacity of this *misnomer*, it being well known that the Modern Whigs, as if fearful lest the splendid talents and great respectability of Lord Grenville should cast his Noble Partner in the back ground, anxiously and arrogantly, in all the proceedings of the Party, entitle the Firm—" *Grey and Grenville.*"

perfectly conversant with all the forms of office; and can adopt the language of diplomacy with facility and advantage. His choice of words and phrases proves that he possesses the delicacy and propriety of language, the just appropriation of terms, as very seldom any word or phrase used by him can be replaced by a better. In both Houses, there are many and various kinds of speakers, but very few debaters—those who can start at a moment's notice, and at all times, and on all subjects, acquit themselves with superior ability. Lord Grenville is certainly one of the first, perhaps the very first, of all the debaters in either House of Parliament. On questions of Finance, Relations with Foreign Powers, the Policy and Laws of Nations, his Lordship can always take a luminous and a comprehensive view. He is vehement without being indelicate, and persuasive without endangering the ground of his argument. Like all the branches of the House of Grenville, he is remarkable for intellectual endowments; and his various readings and researches in science are far beyond what may be naturally expected from the leisure of an active Statesman. His Lordship is rigid in the discharge of all moral and religious duties. Such is the man, who, having many of Mr. Pitt's best political qualities, had only to have adhered to his old standard to have inherited at this time an ascendancy in office, and the chief direction of Public Affairs.

Lord GREY is a speaker of less ability, although respectable and impressive in debate. His speeches have a sameness of matter and manner, sufficiently long, but seldom above mediocrity. He is free and unembarrassed in elocution, and has an imposing but arrogant attitude. He affects much candour and fairness of discussion; but his tones of voice, and boisterous delivery, ill accord with sentiments of impartiality. Intemperate and overbearing in disposition, his various amiable qualities are often obscured in the shade; and, from an obligation conferred through such a medium, there must be a considerable deduction for the tax imposed upon one's feelings by a haughty or supercilious deportment, which wounds the bosom it was intended to relieve. He delights in the noise and bustle of debate; and, if certain of a regular supply from his physical resources, his Lordship would have no objection to extend it to twenty-four hours or twenty-four days. From being the avowed Leader of the Modern Whigs, he is supposed to have stept into the shoes of Mr. Fox: although that is certainly one way of attempting to get at the heel of that wonderful Orator, the wicked wags of the Party most sincerely wish that he had the head!

Mr. WHITBREAD presents the next prominent feature of the Opposition Party. Although to Mr. Ponsonby is consigned the management of that side of the House, yet the acting and effi-

cient speaker is Mr. Whitbread. By great diligence and great good sense, he has become one of the ablest in debate. He is deservedly popular; and the independence and purity of his character give considerable weight to Opposition. But, with all his commendable qualities, Mr. Whitbread forgets the duty of a true patriot when he becomes the advocate of an almost unconditional peace. In his harrangues, he seems, like his Brother-in-law (Lord Grey) anxious to attract public attention by his imitation of Mr. Fox's mode of reasoning; but although he comes nearer to the latter than his Noble Relation (Lord Grey), being gifted with much more genius, he must still be contented to follow that great orator at a considerable distance. It must, however, be allowed, that in the singularity of his opinions he sometimes goes beyond Mr. Fox; for Mr. Fox never would have recommended peace on the tame terms of the Honourable Member; and here Mr. Whitbread's imitations go as far beyond the original as those of a Country Actor go beyond Cooke or Kemble. In another instance, Mr. Whitbread steps beyond Mr. Fox—Mr. Fox, with all his eager pursuit of popularity, never would condescend to countenance or mix with the Party of Sir Francis Burdett—Mr. Fox never would have so far degraded himself as to have borrowed a feather from that Jackdaw's tail. Politeness and civility may be termed the circulating medium

of good breeding; it is a mutual obligation between one Gentleman and another; but Mr. Whitbread's superior powers ought not to depend upon the adventitious aid of Sir Francis Burdett; Mr. Whitbread's premises may overlook but ought not to form a part of the *Mountain*. But there is no accounting for some men's taste; and Mr. Whitbread, as an Englishman, has a right to indulge himself in his innocent sports or harmless recreations.

These form the leading characteristics, the chief elements, of the Opposition Party. Constituted and arranged upon such principles, they were much more formidable last Session than they can be expected the ensuing Session. Their numbers, from which the Modern Whigs assumed an extraordinary degree of self-consequence, may be said to have arisen from one obvious cause, a knowledge of which has already produced various defections, and begins to menace a rapid diminution of the influence of the Party. It is well known, that many Members in both Houses were governed last Session by incidental causes, that is to say, they had not formed any steady or fixed principle. Believing that the PRINCE REGENT would be induced to gratify the hopes of his "Early Friends," by appointing them to the management of public affairs, many Members of Parliament, from motives no doubt of loyalty, continued to take an active part against Ministers, because the Party had strongly

impressed upon their minds, that the PRINCE REGENT did not cordially support them in office, but wanted an opportunity to shake them off. As a bias of this kind could not with any decorum be suddenly removed, the Party retained the same influence during the remainder of the Session. An opportunity, however, soon presented itself, which proved at once, that by far the greater majority of Parliament were decidedly for the support of the PRINCE REGENT'S Government; for although the Commons, on the motion of Mr. Wortley for an Address to His Royal Highness, had voted, by a small majority, that an Administration stronger and more efficient was requisite for the services of the State, the very same House of Commons, on more mature consideration, declared, that the men who then formed the Administration were perfectly adequate to all the purposes of Government. This sudden change of opinion cannot, on fair reflection, appear either absurd or inconsistent with the practice or wisdom of Parliament, as there are many instances on record in which the very same House of Commons, on more mature deliberation, have negatived, and even rescinded, their former resolutions. It is therefore evident, that, on the Motion of Mr. Wortley, the House were caught by surprise; and that this surprise co-operated with the manœuvre and assertion of Opposition, that the "Early Friends" had now nothing to do but to walk in and take their seats at the Treasury Board!

But not contented with their oblique attacks of the PRINCE REGENT at every step of the Negotiations, their Press daily teemed with Libels against His Royal Highness or his Friends—such gross and scandalous Libels as evinced the mean disposition of the base calumniators. From these illiberal proceedings two facts arise —The first is, that the PRINCE, if he previously wanted proofs, has now the satisfaction of knowing his Friends, and that he may look for them in vain among the Opposition Party. The second is, that his "*Early* Friends," now his "*late* Friends," have, by unprovoked aggressions, banished themselves, perhaps for ever, from the Councils of His Royal Highness; and that were the PRINCE REGENT to be unfortunately troubled with bad or inefficient Ministers, he would never be induced to change them for the substitution of men who could be guilty of countenancing such personal insults. Who is there without some faults or weakness? But what Master would chuse to employ servants who could evince such malignant anxiety to expose and revile him, whether their allegations were well or ill founded? And we are apprehensive that there are some persons in Opposition who would not scruple to sacrifice any friend, or any affair of importance, for the sake of a joke. Such men ought to be carefully avoided by every friend of society, especially by Great and Dignified Characters. Every man has some failing, some

peculiarity, that he would not wish to be satirised or exposed—And how could even the purest of the Party venture to employ servants whose greatest pleasure they know would be to expose their master, and hold him up to censure and ridicule. But the Opposition Press, ever since the Prince Regent preferred the services of the present Ministers (soon after the Restrictions ceased) has been actively employed in reviling and satirising the PRINCE and his Friends. No wonder therefore that Colonel M'Mahon, the PRINCE's long approved and faithful servant, together with several other highly unexceptionable characters, should have been held up to censure and exposure both within and without Parliament.

In attempting to humiliate the PRINCE REGENT, any person may observe, and observe with astonishment, the extraordinary pains which the "Early Friends" have taken to accomplish the degradation, to expose the weakness, of their own character! They become candidates for ministerial authority, and as an earnest of their duty to His Royal Highness, they satirically declare, that they disapprove of "almost all the leading features of the policy of the empire!" This is certainly a very eccentric mode of recommendation to the direction of Government; but it is a mode which the Opposition chuse to adopt; it is a mode of exercising their sarcastic powers at the expence of His Royal Highness; it is, in fact,

telling him, that the Peninsular War, and "almost all" the measures of Government, to which His Royal Highness has given his countenance and support, meet with their disapprobation! Is not this the language of peevishness or spleen, not to say insult? Is it wise as Statesmen, or decorous as Gentlemen? Would any of the Opposition Members themselves venture to employ a servant who on a first interview for place should say—'Tis true I am a candidate for your service, but I make no scruple of assuring you, that I disapprove of "almost all" your conduct, and therefore you must in future follow my advice, and have no will of your own? We believe neither of the Noble Lords would employ such a servant, or servants; and yet the PRINCE REGENT, with a dignified and magnanimous contempt of such unbecoming and wretched reproaches, and in conformity to what His Royal Highness conceived as a public duty, intimated, through the medium of Lord Moira, that he would accept of their services, and had *no party-prejudices, no party exclusions whatever.* To men of feeling this was the strongest possible reproof; and it is to be hoped, although the Opposition Members, as Partizans, are not remarkable for delicacy of sentiment, that they felt it with every degree of acuteness, and every point of pungency.

Dissappointed of and defeated in their projects of ambition, the Opposition are full of heart-burnings, mutual suspicions, and mutual

accusations; and the late brilliant Victory of Lord Wellington will greatly augment the multiplicity of their Party Distractions. Murmurs and Mutinies already pervade their ranks, and threaten revolutionary movements. Their Countrymen can never forget how the Opposition wrung their hands and strained their throats to induce Parliament to withdraw our troops from the Peninsula! O! in what nervous language, but in a more nervous delivery, did Lord Grey, in his true spirit of prophecy, boldly predict, that in the course of a few months after his positive assertions, England would not have a man in the Peninsula but as a prisoner to France! O! how Lord Grey re-echoed Bonaparte's blusterings and threats, that the English Army would soon be driven into the sea, or forced to surrender to Frenchmen! But see how the tables are turned—see the triumphs of superior wisdom and science in Lord Wellington's successes! Admitting, therefore, for the sake of argument, that the Opposition Leaders are profound politicians and enlightened statesmen, they cannot deny but that in this instance at least they are false prophets! Had these men obtained the management of public affairs, it is very evident that they would have withdrawn our brave troops from the Peninsula, and that we should have never reaped the fruits of our various triumphs over the enemy, never have achieved our victories in Spain! In times of such immi-

nent danger, when the enemy knocks at our gates, this country wants War Ministers and Fortunate Generals. Too distrustful of the valour and energies of their countrymen in arms, too fearful of Bonaparte, the Opposition are too mealy-mouthed in their comments upon a deliberate murderer! They are not fit to contend with the implacable enemy of England. They are Ministers for the piping times of Peace only—and, till then, let us hear no more of them as Servants of that Nation whose fame they would sacrifice to gratify contemptible spleen or party prejudice.

In condemning "*almost all* the leading features of the policy of the empire," the Opposition of course, in the true spirit of their speeches in Parliament, condemn the war, and the prosecution of that war in Spain and Portugal—they condemn that war which is very deservedly a favourite measure of the PRINCE REGENT—they condemn that war which has served to chastise the insolence and to humble the pride of France, by aggravating the disappointment and maddening the rage of the French Ruler—they condemn that war which has unshackled from the cruel fetters of bondage two Nations once high and mighty in the estimation of the world—they condemn that war which has given scope to the admirable genius of WELLINGTON, by producing the immortal glories of *Salamanca*, and a new energy and a new soul to the expiring Liberties

of Europe. And are these the men worthy of becoming the Ministers of SUCH A PRINCE REGENT?

When Mr. Whitbread urges Peace, and urges it on almost any terms, how much he deviates, through Party motives, from the language and feelings of an Englishman—how his unmanly fears shock our national pride, and serve to heighten and to prolong the bitter miseries of the greater part of enslaved Europe! Peace, forsooth! Let Peace on such terms be called "the Puritan Peace"—"the Peace between the Lamb and the Wolf"—"the Peace between the Spaniel and the Tyger!" But such a Peace, they think would answer the purposes of the Opposition Party—it would produce a Change of Administration! Nay, Gentlemen, this is truly ridiculous. This Country has had a satisfactory sample of the powers of the Modern Whigs, of their splenetic and aguish fits. Your Constitution, Gentlemen, is not the Constitution of pure Englishmen; you are altogether Frenchified, unhealthy, and diseased, and no political surgeon who deals honestly, and values his character, will return you, by certificate, as men fit for public service. And where, it may be asked, did Mr. Whitbread derive such opinions of Peace? Was it by bowing and kneeling at the Court of the Thuilleries; when, during the short interval of Peace, the Opposition Leaders, with Mr. Fox at their head, were rivaling and degrading each other by their mean obsequiousness to

the Tyrant; when they were anxiously pushing forward and eagerly elbowing each other to touch even the hem of his garment? O! what a fund of merriment would a recurrence to those scenes of prostration at the feet of their French Idol make! Then, indeed, we should have "laughter holding both his sides!" Immortal Hogarth, how precious would be some touches of thy pencil! But rest, perturbed spirit! Enough of thy ridicule lives to emblazon thy fame without heightening its charms by the addition of such a ridiculous ceremony!——But, joking apart, (as the Opposition Gentlemen like a joke), Mr. Whitbread could not surely receive his notions of Peace from attending the Levee of Bonaparte! Did Mr. Whitbread imbibe his ideas of such a Peace from licking the dust, from kissing the feet, of England's most implacable Enemy at his new Court?—a Court whose mortar is clay and blood; a Court whose Great Officers of the Household, instead of being civilized Gentlemen, men possessing social qualities, form, like their Chief, part of an immense gang of robbers and quaffers of human blood! It was then that Bonaparte fondly imagined, that he had already conquered England without a blow! It was then that he was delighted in the belief, that the Worshippers of his Greatness had caught the French Distemper, the French Mania, and that they would rapidly spread its pestilential influence throughout our Land of Liberty!

—Oh! Englishmen, what a falling off was there!

———And are these the men who have seriously the presumption to recommend themselves as fit Ministers for the REGENT OF A FREE PEOPLE?

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT and his Admirers may be termed a branch of Opposition. They are very weak in the House of Commons, but strong out of it; and as to the House of Lords, with the exception in some instances of Lord Stanhope, it cannot be supposed that they have any supporters in it. They are the most active and independent part of Opposition, adventuring on such enterprises as the latter would deem either too dangerous, or too remote from what they think their constitutional principles. Sir Francis and his Friends are bold and incorrigible. They treat the wisdom of experience as merely chimerical and useless, when either connected with the Crown or with Parliament. Insurrections give Sir Francis new life and spirits; and the imprisonment of a suspected traitor will instantly call forth all his sympathies. He uses the Opposition and the Opposition use him in turns as engines of popularity; and their turbinating movements prove, that they are fully acquainted with the trade and intercourse of insurrections and riots. By mounting on the heads of the Mob, Sir Francis hopes to degrade both the Crown and Parliament; but from the very few who come forward to support him in the latter, there seem to be insurmountable barriers

to his principles. Although the Opposition derive great part of their popularity from countenancing and encouraging their auxiliaries of the *Mountain*, yet they sometimes affect to be exceedingly indignant with Sir Francis. By pretending to propagate the Opposition Principles, the Burdettites weaken the respectability of Opposition; and, as they engraft upon the same stock, they consequently mingle in their political sap, and become part of the same trunk or body. If Opposition, however, saw any chance of coming into power, they would be exceedingly anxious to disclaim any connection with the Leaders of the Mob, and, as a pledge of their loyalty, would openly renounce and throw them off. This versatility is evident in the conduct of Mr. Whitbread, who is generally liberal in sentiment to all his Friends. But let the Opposition do or say what they please, they manifestly lean upon the *Mountain*, and upon the *Mountain* hangs their chief popularity. This fact will give almost any Administration a superiority over the present Opposition, who out of Parliament are very far from being popular. The Burdettites are strongly infected with the French Distemper. It mixes so with their blood, and forms such an essential part of their vital principle, that very few of them ever recover. This truth must always render the air of the *Mountain* very insalubrious, and the *Mountaineers* themselves polluted and infectious. They are

the most active and incorrigible agitators who for some time have embodied themselves in this country; and thus their numbers, although certainly considerable, appear much more formidable than they actually are, because the noise and bustling, and bawling and uproar, of a very few violent and impudent Mountaineers, in any town, or country, will, for a time, make a stronger impression on the minds of the thoughtless or ignorant, than either cool reasoning or steady and true patriotism. These agitators are likewise so incessantly alive to their trade of mischief-making, that they have their Mountain Dogs, that prowl about at unseasonable hours, surround the sheep-folds, or the harmless and unsuspecting part of the community, and, with their Terriers of Dispute, frequently ferret out and worry, and tear to pieces, wholesome doctrines and constitutional principles. But the greatest danger likely to arise from cherishing the principles of the Mountaineers, is that of disjointing and unhinging society, as all those who are flattered with the idea of becoming Ministers and Legislators can never afterwards settle soberly in life, can never consent to relapse into the industrious mass of the people. The supply of recruits for these restless agitators is never exhausted, as there is constantly the natural succession of generations, constantly young men growing up in all parts of the country, whose warm hearts and hot heads are easily impregnated with demo-

cratic passions. It is thus the Mountaineers are never resourceless; it is thus their seditious or insurrectional corps are kept up by flattering the ambition of the raw and inexperienced youths of the nation; it is thus they are successful, by uniting with the Opposition Delegates in spreading through their respective districts the infection of discontent, and rendering all who are bit by the Mountain Dogs infuriated against the Government, and distracted by imaginary evils. The Mountaineers have declared eternal war against Kings, Judges, and Ministers; and are ready and willing, when opportunity offers, to apply the halter, the dagger, or the axe, to any or to all of them. Justice, however, having within these few years thinned their ranks, the most desperate of the gang have become squeamishly prudent; and there is a chance that many of them, acting upon principles of greater circumspection, may live a session or two longer. Sir Francis has never hesitated to avow his connection with the most furious democrats: thus clearly demonstrating, by his partiality to the Book of Numbers, his dislike to that of Kings. The *O'Connors* and *Despards*, and all the other convicted traitors, were chief leaders of the Mountaineers, and intimately connected with Sir Francis Burdett, as the reports of the legal proceedings certify. These unnatural children of the British Empire rejoice at the misfortunes of their country, and loudly regret any in-

stances of our success. O! what a Chapter of Lamentations—O! what weeping and wailing —O! what bitter tears of sorrow descend, with howling and hideous roar, from the Black Mountain, on the receipt of the accounts of the late GLORIOUS VICTORY of Lord WELLINGTON!

> O ENGLAND!—model to thy inward greatness,
> Like little body with a mighty heart—
> What might'st thou do, that honour would thee do,
> WERE ALL THY CHILDREN KIND AND NATURAL!
> But see thy fault! FRANCE hath in thee found out
> A NEST OF HOLLOW BOSOMS, which he fills
> With TREACHEROUS CROWNS!

In the View of Parties, another set of men, the PRINCE'S FRIENDS, naturally call for some observation. They are not formed into a regular Party, and may be termed a kind of Armed Neutrality, ready to make particular movements, or to enter into a state of activity, when they conceive the PRINCE'S Interest at stake. This disposition arises from a spontaneous impulse; from a belief of that duty which ought always to be implanted in loyal bosoms, especially those honoured with the attentions of such a Friend; and not from the most remote hints, or most indirect interference, on the part of His Royal Highness, who in all his measures for the support of Parliament, depends upon his own patriotic conduct, and upon the faithful discharge of that great and important trust reposed in him by an affectionate people. At the head of this

Party may be considered Lord Moira, as the only man who for a series of years has been supposed to have been honoured with the chief confidence of the Prince. The warmth of his Lordship's attachment to his Royal Friend and Master could not be more zealously exemplified than by his late determined resistance to the proposition for the removal of the Great Officers of the Prince Regent's Household, when the Opposition Leaders were haggling to get into power. This was a spontaneous act of his Lordship, as in his open avowal he said he was authorised to declare, that His Royal Highness, from a sense of duty, had renounced his protection of any Friend or Servant, whose removal might be deemed requisite for the interest of the Public. Lord Moira saw the question in a proper view; and having the full conviction of his own mind, that such a change was not necessary either for the service of the Public or that of the State, gave the memorable question a decided negative. No greater proof of attachment and affection to his Royal Master could be given than what was then advanced by his Lordship, having, by his candid and manly declaration, put the friendship of the Noble Lords who suggested the proposition to the hazard. Lords Grey and Grenville, however, with whom Lord Moira had acted for some years, formed the most liberal construction of his Lordship's conduct on this occasion, although some of the Party Writers, in

their favourite Journal, eagerly issued many of their sarcastic jokes or sneering allusions at the expence of his Lordship. But, without any personal prejudice against his Lordship, the Party embraced this mode of wounding circuitously the feelings of the PRINCE, of giving His Royal Highness a side-blow.

Thinking that they had in some degree accomplished their malignant wishes, the very same Writers attacked Mr. SHERIDAN, a name dear to Genius, and a well-known favourite of the PRINCE REGENT. They thus fondly hoped to render their game of confusion much more interesting as a Play by introducing Mr. SHERIDAN among the Dramatis Personæ. This was the Party Price which he was doomed to pay for his joke of the "*Three Sticks.*" It is lamentable to observe with what personal antipathy, with what incessant acrimony, some of the Opposition Writers attacked Mr. Sheridan last session of Parliament, especially about the time of the Negotiations for a New Ministry. They reproached him for faults which are known not to be peculiar to his temper or disposition; and endeavoured to depreciate his talents by holding him up to the Public as a mere jester, a jack pudding, or a merry andrew. It is an unbecoming feature of some would-be Critics in Morals and Debates, to adopt a late fashion of reviling and detracting from the extraordinary merits and wonderful powers of Mr. Sheridan,

It may with great safety be pronounced, that he has often given proofs of eloquence, and in all its most delightful and persuasive varieties, very far superior to the pretensions of any Member now in the House of Commons, or indeed in either House of Parliament—such a luminous proof on the Begum Charge against Mr. Hastings, when Mr. Sheridan for five hours and forty minutes fixed and rivetted the attention of a very full House in such astonishment and admiration as to induce Mr. Pitt, after bestowing the highest eulogiums on the orator, to move an immediate adjournment, in order that the Honourable Members, during the interval, might recover themselves from the overwhelming influence of such a speech, and be enabled to resume their cool judgment and sober senses, before they gave their decision on the subject. The whole annals of Parliament present no other instance in which the commanding effect of a single speech was urged as a cause for an immediate adjournment. A respect for genius ought to have prevailed on them, when dipping their pens in gall, to have spared this celebrated character. Let them recollect that Mr. Sheridan, even when the Party, in their Augustan Age of Debate, had their Giants of Intellect, their Goliahs in Political Contest, when Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke, and some able associates, like an irresistible torrent, frequently bore down every thing before them—let these Harpies

recollect, that even then Mr. Sheridan was acknowledged as a very able and a very powerful partizan, with whom the House was always pleased when he delivered his sentiments. Let them recollect, that Mr. Sheridan has never gained by the Party, but that the Party, by the exercise of his talents, have greatly gained by him; and that those very talents have served to strengthen and to adorn the Party. Suppose Mr. Sheridan, instead of being faithfully attached to the Party, had found it convenient, from a variety of disagreeable causes, attributable to their treatment of him, to have abandoned that Party, would not his appearance on the other side have produced a change greatly to the prejudice of those with whom he had usually coalesced?—Suppose Mr. Sheridan were even at his advanced period of life, from a sense of duty to the PRINCE REGENT, to take an active part next session in favour of His Royal Highness's Government, and to be regular in his attendance and conduct, is there any one of the Party, now in the House of Commons, however high in reputation, who could have a chance of superiority by a fair competition? They might annoy and harass him, they might exhaust his physical resources, by late and extended debates, as in the case of Mr. Fox, who at last fell a victim to his persevering attendance on similar occasions, at least it hastened his dissolution; but, in a fair and regular contest, their struggles against Mr. Sheridan for

a commanding ascendancy of talents, would be hopeless. Mr. Sheridan's political powers, particularly his powers in debate, have never been properly appreciated. The Party, from what cause is best known to themselves, have been always uncommonly anxious to keep him in the back ground. But Mr. Sheridan is a supposed favourite with the PRINCE REGENT; that alone is a sufficient cause for calumniating him, for undervaluing that towering genius which certain individuals may envy but do not possess; that alone, and not the bug-bear charge of Secret Influence, operates more effectually to produce their snakes and stings, their cold blooded and assassinating attacks, than any blemishes with which they chuse to brand him. All his past services, therefore, all his sacrifices to the Party, appear to them as mere moonshine, and go for nothing.

They afterwards, to heighten their amusement, gave loose to their raillery against Lord Yarmouth, because, forsooth, his Lordship was not only honoured with the Prince Regent's friendship but was partial to the company of Mr. Sheridan. The first is a charge of which any man would be proud; and the second is one which very few would chuse to disclaim. But Lord Yarmouth, with the good sense and placidity of his worthy Father, coolly withstands their gibes and jeers, and thus defeats their merry malignity, although the Opposition Press continues to be fraught with indecent squibs and

sarcastic remarks, both in prose and in verse, against his Lordship.

The PRINCE REGENT'S FRIENDS are constantly, as might be expected, augmenting in numbers; and whether it may ever be deemed expedient to form themselves into a regular and an avowed Party, is a fact which it would be needless now to ascertain; but in whatever shape or character they may chuse to act, they will always make a very important feature in political affairs, whether in or out of Parliament. As a Gentleman and a Soldier, they cannot select a more zealous or a more loyal Leader than Lord MOIRA; and as a correct, able, and animated speaker in Parliament, whether for elegance of diction or precision of argument, his Lordship will always stand in the highest estimation, and will always be reckoned an ornament to the illustrious House to which he belongs. But truth, in the preceding part of this Pamphlet, has indulged herself with a slight Sketch of Lord MOIRA'S character; and propriety forbids the resuming of a ground where there is any chance of wounding the feelings of delicacy.

Among the candidates for a New Administration, a kind of MEDIAL PARTY presents itself. The Marquis of WELLESLEY is the avowed leader of it; and, with the exception of Mr. CANNING and a few private friends, those who happen to give a form or body to it are scarcely known. It ought naturally to lean to the present

Administration. His Lordship's failure in the late Negotiation has already been noticed; it would therefore be painful to have any recurrence to the subject. As a colleague or co-adjutor in power, his Lordship's abilities must always be very acceptable to any Administration; but we have yet to learn the possession of those transcendant talents which give the Noble Marquis a superior claim to the Office of First Minister of this Country. This observation is offered without the smallest wish to detract from the real worth or sterling merit of Lord Wellesley. His faculties are highly respectable; and, with some of those foibles to which human nature is heir to, he has many amiable qualities. It is therefore hoped that his Lordship will soon consent to unite himself with the PRINCE REGENT'S ADMINISTRATION—with that Administration whose liberal supplies, under the judicious and magnanimous guidance of His Royal Highness, have not a little, it must be allowed, contributed to the establishment of his Brother's immortal fame. The acceptance of office in such an Administration, honoured by the PRINCE REGENT'S warmest support and approbation, is the natural situation of Lord Wellesley as a disciple of Mr. PITT. Mr. Canning, his Lordship's supposed chief confident and private adviser, will no doubt acknowledge the truth of this allegation. Report states, that Mr. Canning is by no means unfriendly to the present Ministry;

and that there is almost a certainty of his junction with his late Colleagues. As Mr. Canning, from his splendid abilities and personal influence, is a very important Member in the House of Commons, such an accession of power to the present Ministers would very greatly invigorate their operations. If Mr. Canning cannot, like some of his Noble Friends, boast of the Aristocracy of Family, he has what many of those Noble Lords want, the Aristocracy of Talents. The junction of two such valuable Members as Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, would render the present Administration as powerful as any which this country has experienced for a series of years. Lord Wellesley, by collateral honours, must always be a person of high consideration; but, because his Lordship's Brother is the First General of the Age, it does not necessarily follow, that Lord Wellesley is the first Statesman. By extraordinary courage and capacity, by noble daring and successful enterprise, by knowing when to strike or when to suspend the blow, the HERO of SALAMANCA has rendered his name one of the most illustrious in England, perhaps in the World. As the Founder of a New Family, the Marquis of WELLINGTON has drawn a Circle of Glory around him, from whose bright centre all his Relatives naturally share in his proud lustre. That Sun, which began his blooming progress in the East, now blazes his meridian splendor on the European World; and, from the victory he

has gained over the engines of dark tyranny, points out to the Enslaved States of the Continent, by the Light of Liberty, the direct and true way to National Independence.

The PRESENT MINISTERS are the shattered remains of the PITT ADMINISTRATION, to whom the last fraction of a Party, now noticed, more naturally belongs, because it has hitherto acted and been embodied with it. Although Mr. PITT was the warm friend and zealous supporter of the Crown, yet he always preserved a sufficiency of what may be called the old and true English leaven to uphold the principles of rational Liberty. He was professedly a Tory, but far from being the creature of the Court; for the Court, overawed by his superior virtues and transcendant talents, and in the full belief that he was acting the part of an honest man and an enlightened Minister, yielded implicitly to the impressions of his mind and to the dictates of his conscience. The times presented such extraordinary events as required extraordinary measures to counterbalance them; but, in the discharge of his public duty, Mr. Pitt always maintained the Constitutional Liberty of the Subject, while, at the same time, he supported the just Prerogative of the Crown. The PRESENT MINISTERS are animated by the same spirit; and, from the healthy and invigorating principles of so great a Statesman, an enemy to the false doctrines of the New Philosophy, and a

Minister who ardently opposed the New System of French Innoculation, England has no evil to dread, but every good to expect.

Lord LIVERPOOL's political attainments, whether in Parliament or in the Cabinet, fully enable him to discharge, with honour to himself and advantage to the Government, the important duties of the *First Minister* of this Country. His Lordship, besides the powerful sanction of Mr. PITT, as already noticed, was not only educated in the political school of that Great Master, but fully availed himself of the extensive knowledge and long experience of his late worthy Father (Earl of LIVERPOOL), one of the best-informed politicians of the age. The present Minister, therefore, may be said to come forward as a well-instructed Statesman. With great acuteness of reasoning, an easy flow of eloquence, and an impressive and a dignified delivery, his Lordship must always possess considerable influence as a debater in Parliament. Perfectly conversant in the policy and interests of nations, accommodating but correct in his conduct, actuated by sound patriotism and honourable ambition, from his Lordship may be expected every effort to fulfil the hopes and to gratify the wishes of the PRINCE and the PEOPLE.

Lord ELDON, long before his elevation to the great and dignified office of *Lord Chancellor*, was acknowledged, by men of judgment and discern-

ment, to have been a profound lawyer and an eloquent speaker. With much conscientious integrity in all his decisions, his Lordship has presided very honourably in the Court of Equity. He has occupied a large space in the eye of the Public for the last twenty years; and, notwithstanding his laborious professional vocations in the different offices of solicitor and attorney general, he was always found at his post in Parliament, distinguished as acute and persuasive in debate. As a man of uprightness and humanity, the Conscience of the Sovereign cannot be in a more pure custody.

The office of *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in times of such enlarged Receipt and Expenditure, in times when the ingenuity of financial expedients is requisite to meet the extraordinary exigencies of the State, in such times the person who occupies a station of this magnitude ought to know the means and be adequate to the demands of Government. Mr. VANSITTART has not only demonstrated, by his various and able writings, that he is fully competent to meet and to develope new expedients, but that he is perfectly adequate to the management of such a vast concern.

Lord CASTLEREAGH, as *Secretary for the Foreign Department*, has every claim, from long official experience, in various situations; and his Lordship's abilities in Parliament are too well known to require any panegyric. It is true he suffered some odium during the Rebellion in

Ireland; but any Minister in the same unpleasant situation, at such a time, could not escape obloquy; and unprejudiced persons, however, have been convinced, that no particular blame ought to be attached individually to his Lordship, who appears to be a man actuated by sentiments of philanthrophy.

Lord SIDMOUTH, as *Secretary for the Home Department*, has always acquitted himself so honourably in all his public engagements, and is so very well known and approved, that any comment would be superfluous. From an erroneous belief, that his Lordship is actuated by a spirit of bigotry and intolerance, he is certainly very unpopular, if not odious, among the Roman Catholics; but Lord Sidmouth, it is presumed, in his apprehensions of danger to the Church of England, from an unconditional surrender of political rights to the Roman Catholics, is desirous only of the *proper securities* from the latter to Government previously to the grant of those rights. Lord Wellesley, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Canning, and other zealous friends to the question, cannot, as Members of the Church of England, or as Conformists to the Law, entertain any other proposition. If the Roman Catholics, as has already been said, will surrender the *Veto* to the Sovereign, and the *Necessary Securities* to the *Protestant Government*, God forbid they should continue one moment longer to suffer the exclusion of those political rights, which they so earnestly solicit.

Lord BATHURST, for the *War Department*, has certainly a very serious and a very important charge; but should his Lordship's respectable judgment appear to himself at any time doubtful, he can easily recur to the advice of his able predecessor (Lord Liverpool).

Lord MELVILLE, as *First Lord of the Admiralty*, possesses all the sagacity and aptitude for business of his late Father, who, notwithstanding the bitter malignity of his Political Opponents, was perhaps the most profound Statesman of his time. Whatever may now be the Party opinion of his late Lordship's conduct, it cannot be denied, that the Navy, by his very able arrangements, is much more indebted to him than to any First Lord of the Admiralty this country ever saw. His Son, the present Lord MELVILLE, is an able Member of Administration, and his opinions are universally respected.

Lord MULGRAVE, in the *Ordnance Department*, has all the capabilities requisite for office; is an old favourite of Mr. Pitt; and warmly attached to the Crown. His Lordship is distinguished for that literary taste inherent in the Family of Mulgrave; and, upon particular occasions, is a prominent speaker in the House of Lords.

The Distinguished Characters entrusted with the direction of various other Departments connected with Administration are also men of approved abilities, and unexceptionably adapted for their respective offices.

The NEW ADMINISTRATION, thus formed, are not only sufficiently capable of conducting the affairs of this vast empire, but of conducting them with energy and effect. As the Chief Leaders possess great talents, political knowledge, and official experience, it is evident that the most essential qualities of Ministers are not wanting; and, to these commendable endowments may be superadded, as great a portion of integrity and honour as the proudest Lord of the Whig Party can boast. The Opposition may perhaps be able to produce a greater numerical strength of speakers in Parliament; but, in the multitude of talkers, or babblers, the retailers of party animosities, frequent deviations from common sense and decent propriety must be evident, and injure the cause they are meant to support. A wise Administration will always depend for success and popularity upon its solid and judicious measures in the Cabinet, and upon its prescience of arrangement in carrying them into execution; and the Political Critic, it is well known, must yield to operations of success. The present Ministers have commenced their official career with one of the most brilliant victories recorded in history; and its beneficial consequences, it is hoped, will be felt throughout the Continent of Europe, and serve to revive the repressed energies of rational Freedom.

The PRINCE REGENT's manly, independent, and dignified conduct, during the whole of the

Negotiations for a New Ministry, was the theme of universal praise; and the affected delicacy of Opposition, before they would condescend to come into power, not only rendered them ridiculous, but gave general disgust. Both the Negotiation with Lord Wellesley and that with Lord Moira, particularly the latter, evidently proved one of two things—either that the Opposition were resolved to establish an Oligarchical Confederacy, to render the functions of the Monarchy less respected and useful—or that there existed some unaccountable heart-burning, some resentment stimulating to hostility, which the humiliation of the PRINCE REGENT alone could appease. The Leaders strove not with each other in giving testimonies of attachment and affection to the King, to His Royal Highness, or to the Royal Family; but took high ground for a very low object, that of political etiquette, that of depriving the PRINCE REGENT of any power whatever in the appointment of His Royal Highness's Household. The PRINCE REGENT, however, with a prudence and a magnanimity truly laudable, was very desirous of sinking into oblivion his own private wrongs for the sake of the public good. The interest and the inclinations of the PRINCE REGENT concurring entirely with the sentiments of the Commons and those of the People, His Royal Highness was always ready to make any sacrifice consistent with his honour, for the convenience of forming

an Administration adequate to all the purposes of Government. But when he found that the terms and temperament of the Opposition Leaders run obstinately towards the establishment of an Oligarchy, an Oligarchy derogatory to his high station and dangerous to the liberties of the People, the PRINCE REGENT's proud spirit, disdaining such precarious friendship, resolved on the choice of an Administration which he knew would reflect honour on his appointment, and faithfully discharge the duties of Government. The nation at large, indignant at the perverse conduct of the Opposition, received accounts of His Royal Highness's determination with expressions of general and unfeigned joy; and in this memorable instance there was another demonstration, that the People had long entertained a strong aversion to the politics of Opposition. But the latter fondly flattered themselves, that His Royal Highness, rather than forego their incomparable services, would recommend some timely compromise, and thus admit them into power. In these views, however, they were miserably disappointed; for the PRINCE REGENT, without departing from his dignity, which he knows well how to maintain, gave demonstrations only of his magnanimity and moderation, by suffering their conduct to pass quietly into the silence of oblivion.

Here, again, the PRINCE REGENT's Government was threatened with the hostility of numerous

and powerful majorities in both Houses, particularly in the House of Commons. But in this also the Party were fatally deceived, for the very first division was strongly in favour of Ministers. It may not be amiss to remark, that if the Opposition plume themselves upon numerous majorities in Parliament, they plume themselves upon what they must reckon as so many "*sticks*," so many instruments, to accomplish their invasion of the Treasury, and their conquest of Government. Such undue means as these to harass and to perplex Government, or to degrade Parliament or insult the PRINCE REGENT, cannot be considered as fair and constitutional means, but as the means of delusion, of imposition, used for the purpose of deceiving the People when in power, by changing the leading features of the policy of Government, and by preventing the attainment of the chief object of our ambition, the overthrow of French Tyranny in the Peninsula. By their rejection, therefore, from power, the PRINCE REGENT gave compleat satisfaction to the People. Had they been entrusted with the functions of Government, one of their first acts would perhaps have been to have ordered Lord (now Marquis) WELLINGTON home, in order to fulfil the truth of their own prophecy, that ere long England should not have a man in the Peninsula. This Country might then have lost the transcendent glories of *Salamanca;* and posterity would

have considered the vast expenditure of men and money in the Peninsula as an act of criminal profusion rather than that of patriotic virtue. But, to their shame and confusion, the same warlike measures have been adopted with increased energies; the Duke of YORK's favourite General, whom he selected and appointed for the arduous task in the Peninsula, the immortal Wellington, has been triumphant; and the PRINCE REGENT's promise to the Spanish and Portuguese Nations, by which promise His Royal Highness pledged the faith of the British Nation and Government, has been fulfilled.

Had the Opposition, however, obtained an ascendancy in our Councils, these great national objects would have been sacrificed for the sake of counteracting their political opponents; and the Opposition would have also recurred to their favourite plans of an *Oligarchical Controul* over the PRINCE REGENT, and of a *Military Council* over the Duke of YORK. These are preliminary measures when they get into power; but, thank God! the days of feudality are gone by, and the independence and liberties of mankind are placed upon a surer and more rational foundation. Neither the Prince nor the People fear the frowns of great or potent Lords, who with their numerous followers, as in antient times, often overturned the throne, changed the dynasty, and enslaved the nation. The Old Whigs were enemies to the feudal system; the Modern Whigs are eager to

resume the most dangerous part of it, that Oligarchy, that monopoly of power, that tyranny over the Prince and the People which endangers the independence of both. Else why stun our ears with their numerous followers in Parliament, ready to obey their summons against the Prince or his Ministers? The Public is therefore indebted to the discrimination and discernment of the PRINCE REGENT for preserving both himself and the People from the iron yoke of the Modern Whigs, and from the alarming contagion of their principles. His Royal Highness has had the wisdom to avoid throwing himself into the hands of an ambitious and an exasperated party. Instead of allowing the kingly power to perish in his hands, and in its stead to place a New System of Oligarchy, as the Opposition fondly anticipated, the PRINCE REGENT, feeling his duty to the People, and the proud pre-eminence of his Illustrious Family, (which Family was originally solicited to accept the reins of Government in order to protect the Rights and Liberties of that very People), determined on a manly resistance to an unwarrantable combination of Potent Lords to controul, if not to subvert, the Royal Power; to make Parliament the Register Office of their Decrees; and to abridge, if not to overturn, our dearest privileges. For such a line of conduct the PRINCE REGENT well deserves, what he has already obtained, the encomiums of the country at large. It was a task at the

time full of peril to himself and to his Friends; but His Royal Highness has happily surmounted every difficulty, and, by scorning the safety of humiliation, acquited himself with a spirit and propriety which would have reflected honour on the wisest of his ancestors.

It must excite the pity, if not the contempt, of all unprejudiced persons to see to what dirty means and paltry expedients the malignity of Opposition has been often reduced, ever since the PRINCE REGENT assumed the Sovereign Power and Authority. Among other insinuations for the removal of the Great Officers of the Household was that of *Secret Influence*, an insinuation which has been often refuted and revived for the last fifty years. At one time, the *King's Mother* was supposed to have possessed that ascendancy in the councils; at another, the *Earl Bute*; then followed successively *Mr. Charles Jenkinson* (afterwards Earl of Liverpool) and *Lord Temple* (now Marquis of Buckingham). But all the Ministers of those different periods, particularly Lord North, uniformly denied the existence of what was termed Secret Influence in any shape whatever; and there is not a doubt but that the same insinuations in the present times are equally groundless, and calculated merely to inflame the public mind against His Royal Highness and his Government. But, as if Party Rage and Disappointment were at last driven to the rack of invention, or to the

verge of despair, a wretched and base attempt has lately been made to asperse the PRINCE REGENT's patriotism, by asserting that he had recently imported *Household Furniture from Paris* to the amount of 30,000*l.* sterling, thus endeavouring to raise the indignation of British Tradesmen against His Royal Highness, by supposing that he gave a preference to French Manufacture. This has also been contradicted from authority; and to what other miserable shifts Party Rancour may be driven, time alone can determine. It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that many Connoisseurs in the Ornamental Way would prefer even the Plaster of Paris to the Opposition Bronze.

An honesty of heart, a condescension of conduct, an open and an unreserved demeanour, served but to increase presumption, and to render the demands of the Oligarchists more intolerable. The PRINCE REGENT's penetrating eye soon discovered, that there was no truth, no sincerity, in their professions to aid the formation of such a New Administration as would gratify the wishes expressed in the Address of the House of Commons, by strong, efficient, and popular measures. His Royal Highness saw, that, with bold spirits and dark designs, they would insidiously surround the throne, and shut up all communication between it and the People. The PRINCE saw, by their arrogant pretensions, that they were about to lose them-

selves in the regions of politics, under impressions which for the time flattered their extravagant imagination. He saw that while they professed an anxiety for the service of the Crown, they were only playing the game of self-interest; and that in their affectations of loyalty, they frequently betrayed an evident conflict between pride and duty. Thus what began in ridiculous etiquette ended in contemptible imbecillity; and their whole conduct, in this instance, detracted from their reputation, by adding one unit more to their catalogue of party absurdities. Notwithstanding the scoffs and scorns of the PRINCE REGENT'S Government, by pretending that it is weak and inefficient in every branch—no doubt by an officious contrast to elevate and to enhance the wonderful Talents of the Party—all unprejudiced persons will readily admit, that, EVER SINCE THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRINCE REGENT'S POWER, OUR PUBLIC EFFORTS HAVE BEEN GREAT AND BRILLIANTLY SUCCESSFUL; THAT WE HAVE EXPERIENCED NEITHER DISASTER NOR DISGRACE; AND THAT FORTUNE SEEMS TO FAVOUR HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S GOVERNMENT.

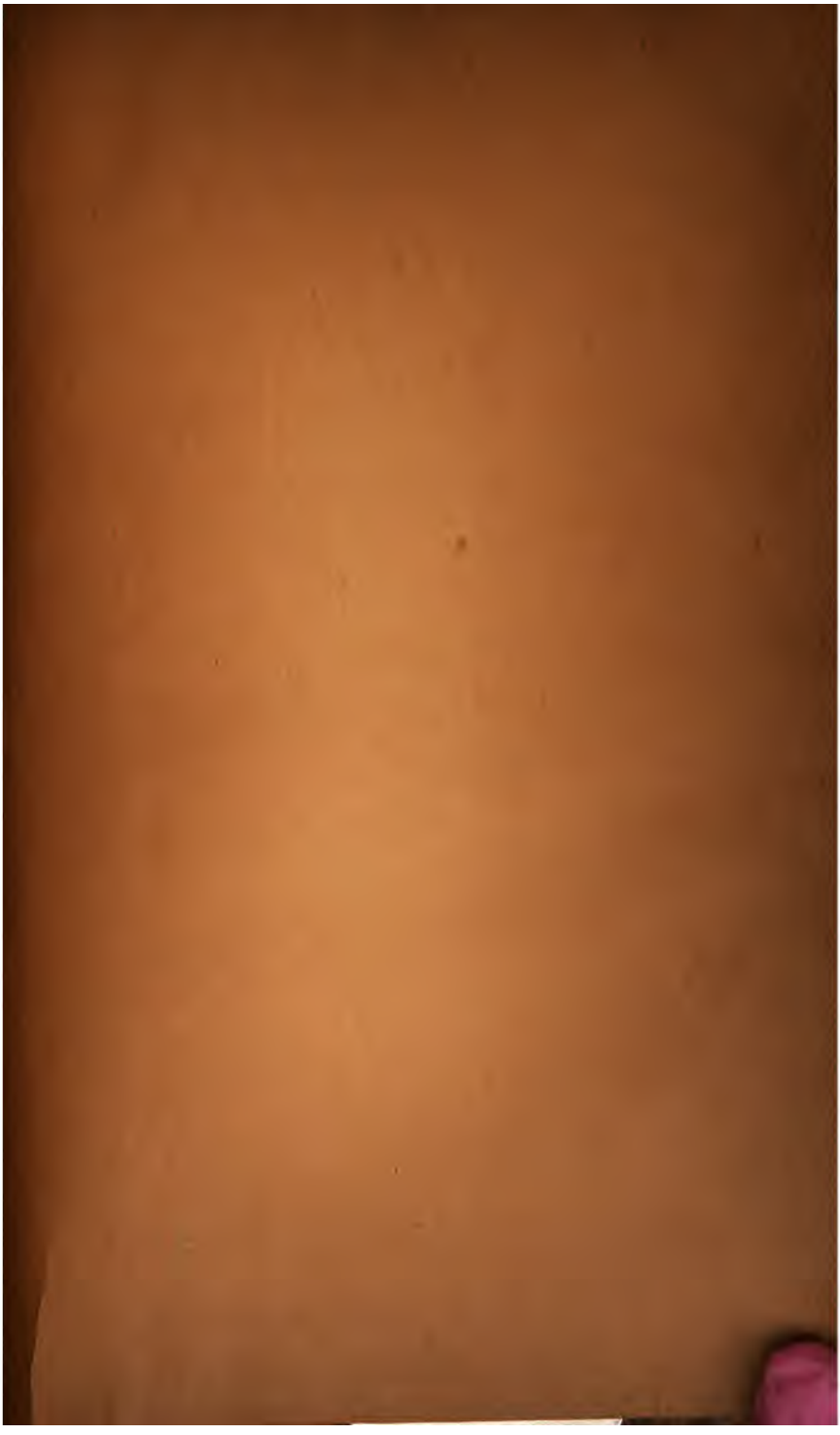
The particular views of the Opposition Party are best known to themselves, although they have not been very delicate in promulgating some of their objects; but it must afford every friend of this country the greatest consolation to find, that the PRINCE REGENT'S OBJECTS—ARE ALL

ENGLISH OBJECTS—and that he is ardently solicitous for OUR NATIONAL HONOUR, PROSPERITY, AND GLORY. It is well known that our true prosperity can neither be attained nor secured till France lowers her tone, and listens to terms of moderation. That happy and desirable event is only to be produced by a vigorous prosecution of the war. During the last short peace, it was evident, that this country, from the propagation of dangerous principles, was less safe in peace than in war. There was consequently no alternative; and it is to be hoped that France, having seen and felt the weight of our arm, and the effects of our victories, will consent to lower her crest and to moderate her ambition. For the attainment of this laudable object, which, with due deference to the Opposition, is an ENGLISH OBJECT, the PRINCE REGENT is making every exertion, and using every means, which Parliament and the Country afford.

As soon as his Royal Highness assumed the reins of government, he instantly became POLITICALLY A NEW MAN, adopted a new policy, and corroborated his professions by his actions. He then openly declared, that he had no partialities, no predilections, but such as were for the good of the empire. It was no question with his Royal Highness when any man appeared for a public situation—"Is he a *Pittite?*" "Is he a *Foxite*, or connected with the Great Whigs?"

No. It was—" Is he an honest man, and fit for the situation?" or " will he faithfully discharge his duties to the Public?" These were the partialities, the predilections, with which the PRINCE REGENT was governed; and if he has become a new man, by changing his political sentiments, by rejecting the advice and example of the Modern Whigs, as inimical to the interests of the country, it is certainly to His Royal Highness's honour that he has had fortitude sufficient to protect himself from the contagion of their principles, to recal himself from the devious and erroneous path into which he was about to be betrayed. The REGENT of ENGLAND, as his Royal Highness has avowed, ought to have no party prejudices, ought, indeed, to know no one party more than another—provided each has an equality of talents and of virtues;—but when, in the exigency of public affairs, he finds it a necessary obligation to make a distinction between the good and the bad, every impartial man will see which side should have the preponderance. If his Father's Ministers, on the cessation of the Parliamentary Restrictions, entertained any apprehensions of his Royal Highness's wrath or disapprobation, because they restrained and controuled the ambition of his " Early Friends," the very same Ministers found themselves agreeably disappointed, for His Royal Highness received them with uncommon courtesy and favour. To the astonishment of

those very Ministers of his Father, those very men who had been checking the extravagant views of his "Early Friends," it was soon discovered, that they had, by those very means, been paying him the highest court. Instead of censure and disapprobation, His Royal Highness exhorted them to persevere in the same faithful discharge of their duty, in the same wise and salutary measures, for the honour and glory of the empire. The PRINCE REGENT has thus happily exemplified the difference between being the PRINCE of a PARTY and the PRINCE of the PEOPLE; and from this instance at least it may be augured, that His Royal Highness will emulate the conduct of a PATRIOT KING.

THE END.

Stuart, Printer, 47, Holywell Street, London.